

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
**CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY**

CALL NO. 915.05 /A.R.
25502

D.G A. 79.







THE
~~ASIAN~~
ASIATIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW

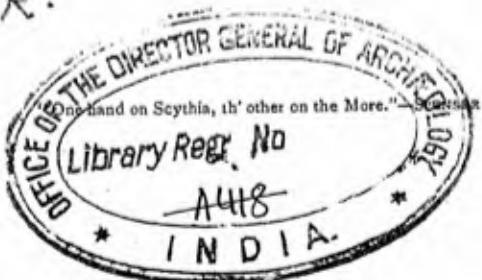


25502

NEW SERIES—VOLUME II. Nos. 3 & 4.

JULY—OCTOBER, 1913.

915.05
A.R.



Woking:
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

JOURNAL OF ORIENTALOGICAL
LIBRARY NEW DELHI

Acc. No. 2.5502.....
Date. 30.1.57.....
Call No. 915.05 / A.R.

C O N T E N T S.

	PAGES
SULTAN ABDUL HAMID AND THE TURKISH DÉBACLE. By Professor Arminius Vambéry	I
THE TRAINING OF JUDGES. By Ignotus	6
INDIAN POLICE REFORM: THE POLICE COMMISSION OF 1902. By Viator	23
BRITISH ART EDUCATION FROM AN EASTERN STANDPOINT. By E. B. Havell	35
HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By R. E. Forrest	46
"CHOKHER BÁLI." RABINDRANATH TAGORE AS A NOVELIST. By J. D. Anderson	57
ENGLISH AUTHORS AND ORIENTAL ORTHOGRAPHY. By Lieutenant-General F. H. Tyrrell	71
THE SILENT WAR IN FORMOSA. By Shinji Ishii	77
SOME NOTES ON THE POSITION OF EARLY EURASIANS. By A. Francis Steuart	93
HANYU; OR, THE CHINESE PRINCE OF LITERATURE. By David Alec Wilson	102
REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM. By Professor Dr. E. Montet	110
SOME CAUSES OF TURKEY'S DEFEAT. By Mahdali	225
THE FUTURE OF THE TURKS IN ASIA MINOR. By the late Professor Arminius Vambéry, C.V.O.	232
A REMARKABLE RESULT OF THE LAST BALKAN UPHEAVAL. By His Excellency Chedo Mijatovitch, former Servian Minister in Constantinople and at the Court of St. James's	237
RECENT TURKISH EVENTS AND MOSLEM INDIA. By Shah Mohammad Naimatullah	241
A TURCO-BRITISH ENTENTE. By Arthur Field, Assistant Secretary of the Ottoman Committee	249
THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. By E. H. Parker	256
PREFERENCE IN INDIA. By J. B. Pennington	263
INDIA'S FIRST MOVE IN IMPERIAL PREFERENCE. By G. Eldon Manisty, I.C.S.	273
APHORISMS OF THE FIRST FOUR CALIPHS, OR SUCCESSORS OF MUHAMMAD. Compiled and translated by the late Dr. Wortabet	284
THE "FAUJI AKHBÁR," OR ARMY NEWSPAPER OF INDIA. By Lieutenant-General F. H. Tyrrell	290

	PAGES
CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS	119, 302
Islam and the Turks.—"The Ulcer of Empire."—A Famous Delhi Inscription.—The Suppressed Debate on the Indian Cotton Excise	119—125
Englishmen in India.—India and the Dark Continent.—More Freaks of Legalism: The Millennium of Montreal.—Special Features of Islam	302—344

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE EASTERN HIMALAYAN STATES OF SIKHIM, BHUTAN, AND TIBET. By J. C. White, C.I.E.	126
THE RELATION OF THE CURRENCY TO THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF INDIA. By Mark B. F. Major	136
CALCUTTA: "THE PREMIER CITY." By Wilmot Corfield	171
WHAT HAS BRITAIN DONE FOR INDIA? By Meherban Narayanrao Babasahib, Chief of Inchalkaranji	345
INDIAN ARCHITECTURE AND ITS SUITABILITY FOR MODERN REQUIREMENTS. By F. O. Oertel, F.R.I.B.A., Superintending Engineer, Allahabad	376
ANNUAL REPORT AND ANNUAL MEETING	407

REVIEWS AND NOTICES	197, 417
-------------------------------	----------

Peeps into Persia, by Madame d'Hermalle.—Calendrier-Annuaire, 1913. Observatoire de Zi-ka-wei.—The Trade and Administration of China, by Hosea Ballon Morse, sometime Commissioner of Customs and Statistical Secretary, China.—Recent Events and Present Policies in China, by J. O. P. Bland.—The Pagan Tribes of Borneo, by C. Hose, D.Sc., and W. McDougall, M.B., F.R.S. With an Appendix on the Physical Characters of the Races by A. C. Haddon, F.R.S. Two vols.—Camp and Tramp in African Wilds, by E. Torday, Member of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Member of the Council of the Folk-Lore Society, etc. With forty-five illustrations and a map.—Letters from the Near East, by the Hon. Maurice Baring.—Jainism, in Western Garb, as a Solution to Life's Great Problems. Written by Herbert Warren, chiefly from notes of talks and lectures by Virchaud R. Gandhi, B.A.—The Lawyer, by William Durran.—From Pole to Pole, by Dr. Sven Hedin.—Through Siberia, by Richardson L. Wright and Bassett Digby.—Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine. Part I., Vol. II., No. 3. "Variétés Sinologiques," No. 34. By Rev. Henri Doré, S.J.—The Arabs in Tripoli, by Alan Ostler.—Introduction to the Study of Indian Music, by E. Clements.—The Signifi- cance of Ancient Religions, by E. Noel Reichardt, M.D.	197—212
--	---------

Malayan Monochromes, by Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G.—The Way of Contentment. Translated from the Japanese of Kaibara Ekken by Ken Hoshino. "Wisdom of the East" Series.—Through Shen-Kan, by R. S. Clark and A. de C. Sowerby.—The Inner Life and the Tao-teh-king, by C. H. A. Bjørregaard, Librarian, New York Public Library.—Vestiges of Old Madras, by H. Davison Love. Three vols. and an index volume.—India and the Indians, by Edward F. Elwin.—By-Ways of Bombay, by S. M. Edwardes, C.V.O. (Indian Civil Service), Com- missioner of Police, Bombay.—The English Factories in India, 1642-1645, by William Foster, C.I.E.—Adventures Beyond the	
---	--

Zambesi, by Mrs. Fred Maturin.—Anglo-Indian Studies, by S. M. Mitra.—The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births. Index volume. Pp. 63.—The Diamond Sutra (Chin-kang-ching), or Prajna-Paramita. Translated from the Chinese. With an introduction and notes. By William Gemmell.—The Game of Central and Western China, by Harold Frank Wallace, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.—Studies from an Eastern Home, by Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble).—Plays of Old Japan: The Nō, by Marie C. Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S.—The <i>Japan Gazette</i> Peerage of Japan.—The Rhubaiyát of Some-of-Us, by J. G. Brandon-Thomas. Set to illustrations by George Segar	417—433
OUR LIBRARY TABLE	212, 433
SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE COLONIES, INCLUDING OBITUARY	215, 436

THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY, 1913.

SULTAN ABDUL HAMID AND THE TURKISH DÉBACLE.

BY PROFESSOR ARMINIUS VAMBERY.

My former relation to the deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid being fairly known, it is no wonder at all that I have been of late so often asked by the readers of my books to tell them if the Turkish debacle, which has so greatly astonished the world, would have taken place if Sultan Abdul Hamid had remained on the throne. Well, all that I can say is, the war and the great catastrophe which has befallen the Ottoman Empire would have certainly been avoided if the reins of the government had remained in the hands of the man whom the late Mr. Gladstone called "The Great Assassin," and who, with all his horrible faults and mistakes, had combined in his person all the qualities required to rule an Eastern people and to ward off all danger threatening from the West and from the North. It was late in the evening, during one of my interviews in the Tehit Palace, that he spoke to me in the following way : "I must tell you, Reshid Effendi" (this is my Turkish name), "from the time that I came to this place" (alluding to the throne) "I have been often asked by my neighbours to conclude an alliance with them ; in fact, I have been the object of their continuous wooing. Thank God ! I have successfully withstood all offers. I am free and disengaged,

and such shall I remain all my life ; for, I must tell you I do not trust in their promises, and I know perfectly well that I would lean upon a weak and fragile reed should I believe in their friendship." This was approximately the wording of his saying, but I never believed in it ; for I knew and I obtained full certainty of the fact that he had long before sold himself to Russia, which had promised him personal security on the condition of his becoming a willing instrument in the hands of the politicians on the Neva, and on his promising to avoid all approach towards the Western Powers, particularly England. He tried to impress his Ministers and surroundings with the soundness of this political tendency, and he tried more than once to convince me of the futility and folly of my anti-Russian writings ; "for unalterable fate," said the Sultan, "has decreed the Russian ascendancy, and men, feeble creatures, cannot oppose Divine decrees, but have to submit to them."

Now, as long as Abdul Hamid was the undisputed arbitrator of the destinies of Turkey, there was no possibility of the formation of a Balkan League, and the attack of the four Kings was fully excluded. With the success of Young Turkey and with the fall of Abdul Hamid, the political outlook utterly changed. Russia secured a free hand, having become freed from her obligation to defend the Sultan. She encouraged and assisted the Balkan rulers, who, duly prepared and materially supported by their protector, could the much more easily pull down their former master and oppressor, as the latter was labouring under the varied and manifold disadvantages caused by the new era of constitution, by political as well as by social changes, and particularly by the vigorous awakening of the non-Turkish Christian elements. With Abdul Hamid at the head of affairs, the old spirit of Asiatic administration remained intact ; and commanding as he did an enormous influence over the lower classes, and particularly in Anatolia, his will was quickly obeyed, and the army would have shown much more zeal and patriotism than it did under

the constitutional regime, when subordination was weakened by the political party spirit of the military officers, and when the previous order had been destroyed without being replaced by a new one. A soldier who has lost all esteem for his superior, who, ill-clad and ill-fed, is exposed to the inclemencies of weather, will not, and cannot, withstand the fiery attack of an animated adversary like the Bulgarian, whom many a hundred years of slavery and humiliation had turned into a revengeful enemy. Apart from this, it was the rabid absolutism of the Sultan which crippled the energy of the nation, suppressed its ambition, and made it utterly impossible for a new generation of politicians and civil officers to spring up to take control of public affairs and become useful in the new administration. When the Young Turks succeeded in their revolution, and became masters of the situation, to their own surprise, the great lack of serviceable civil officers made itself greatly felt, and the Government being compelled to appoint incompetent men, their failure in the various branches of civil and military administration must be looked upon as a natural consequence and as the chief cause of the ruin of the ill-fated nation. From the beginning of the period of transition—namely, since the rule of Sultan Mahmud II.—public affairs had always been going from bad to worse: so no wonder that the extraordinary change brought on by the sudden introduction of constitutional life augmented the trouble and led to utter confusion in home and foreign affairs.

Sultan Abdul Hamid's despotic regime, coupled with the success of the revolutionary party, was therefore the main cause of the defeats at Kirk Kilisse and Lule Burgas; and should we desire to look somewhat deeper into the origin of the misfortune of the Ottoman nation, we cannot help making the discovery that it was the general policy of the deposed Sultan which led to the downfall of his country and rendered his situation hopeless. It may not be generally known that Abdul Hamid was possessed by a kind of idiosyncrasy in his hatred towards England, without

being able to account properly for it. Having been brought up in a strongly anglophil spirit by his father, Sultan Abdul Medjid, he thought that all his needs and wants ought to have been at once fulfilled by England ; and finding himself deceived in his expectations, he turned into a bitter enemy, accusing the old ally and friend of his father of breach of faith and of open enmity. Of course there was no lack of sincere friends who endeavoured to dispel his delusions and to prove to him the contrary, but he remained obstinate and immovable, and he often came out with childish and ludicrous reasons. To the latter belongs his saying, " I have asked the Queen to arrange this or the other thing for me : to lend me such and such a sum of money," and many other remarks of a similar nature ; and when it was explained to him that it was not the Queen but the Nation which had the supreme power in England, he used to grow angry, and say : " Do not take me for such a fool ; do not believe that I am not aware of the extreme fallacy and pretence of constitutional affairs in Europe. A King is a King, and owns the undisputed supreme power in everything."

With a ruler of such opinions and principles, it was useless to enter into close relations of friendship or alliance, and it may be said that it was Abdul Hamid's behaviour which forced England to approach Russia. The *entente* concluded in Reval in 1907 was thus the outcome of the petty intrigues of the distrustful Ottoman ruler. The Cabinet of St. James, fully convinced of the utter unreliableness of the Sultan, had no other choice but to approach their former rival and enemy ; and if the Turks of to-day complain of England's behaviour, accusing her of having joined the ranks of Turkey's adversaries, they must find fault with their own Government, and they have no right to blame England.

Under the actual circumstances recrimination is quite useless. A nation which meekly endured for several decades the unheard-of absolutism of an autocrat, and which was unable to prevent the excesses of a revolutionary movement, such

a nation must patiently submit to the dire results of her own inability, and must face the disastrous consequences. These will be, of course, manifold, and one will prove heavier than the other. To begin with, the Turks have to suffer the loss of their former military reputation, which they had enjoyed for centuries and which had mainly assisted them to found an Empire spreading over three parts of the world. Secondly, their numerical strength will greatly diminish ; for, apart from the losses inflicted by the war, the migratory movements following the defeats will be much greater than those which succeeded the Russo-Turkish War of 1876, when nearly 700,000 Turks and Muhammadans migrated from European Turkey to Asia Minor, of whom the greatest part fell victims to the unaccustomed climate, to faults of administration, and to the most hopeless poverty. This time the number of Turks, partly killed by Komitadje's and the Christian regular armies, partly leaving their old home and passing over to Asia Minor, will be much greater ; for, whereas formerly only Bulgarians were the aggressors, the Moslem population has been exposed to the enmity of Montenegrins, Servians, and Greeks, who have all eagerly seized the opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the premier enemy and oppressor. In mentioning the disastrous consequences of the present Turkish defeat, we must point to the loss of the Turkish prestige all over the Muhammadan world, for the Ottoman ruler enjoyed the greatest respect and consideration as the Khalifa (*i.e.*, the legal successor of the Prophet) and as the mightiest ruler in Islam—a moral loss which the retention of Constantinople will hardly mitigate. Suffice it to say, the stubborn resistance of Sultan Abdul Hamid to an alliance with England has resulted in the most disastrous consequence to the Ottoman Empire, and will accelerate the total ruin of a nation which played an important rôle in Europe and had a certain future in Asia.

THE TRAINING OF JUDGES.

BY IGNOTUS.

UNDER this heading the *Times* of May 31 has a report of a dinner given by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House on the previous evening, "to meet His Majesty's Judges." In responding to the toast of "The Judges," the summary says that Lord Haldane contrasted the training of the Judges in this country with that which prevailed in other nations. Here was a promise of entertainment and, possibly, of edification. We have ventured to complain at sundry times and in divers manners that there is no adequate exchange of views between our Judges and jurists on the one hand and those of the Continent of Europe on the other. There is nothing at all corresponding to the international medical congresses. From their reports we find that a thoroughly wholesome condition of things exists in the medical world. The demarcations of national frontiers have completely disappeared. The same observation applies to physical science and philosophy. We hear nothing of German or French science. The appeal of science is universal. The very large number of legal conventions that are now accepted by Continental nations tend to bring the legal domain into line with others. At the last legal congress at the Hague, no fewer than thirty nations, through their delegates, accepted a convention on the subject of Bills of Exchange. England was represented, it

is true, on this occasion, but our delegates were precluded by their instructions from welcoming the convention which all other nations, except the United States and ourselves, found acceptable. As the United States and ourselves enjoy—or suffer from—the same legal system, it is only too obvious that although legal frontiers are fast disappearing between the great majority of States, yet our legal system has an aloofness all its own. To the marked disadvantage of the subjects of our Empire, our legal frontiers are demarcated in the true medieval manner, despite the fact that in every other domain all human activities are being internationalized to the common advantage. Our readers will observe that a close and continuous interchange of views connotes an immense economy of effort and research. New discoveries, new syntheses, become a starting-point for further progress ; whereas isolated workers wasted their energies in reaching conclusions already proved and accepted by their neighbours, but not publicly added to the common stock.

Our legal system convicts itself, by this refractoriness, of being medieval rather than modern. And what there is to be said in favour of medievalism would obviously be germane to the training of Judges. For the most remarkable circumstance in this maintenance of the Chinese Wall round our legal system, is that we have a special brand of Justice. It is known as "English Justice." There is a strong presumption that this fact is intimately connected with the training of our Judges, which is diametrically opposed to that which obtains on the Continent of Europe. What we consider an indispensable qualification in this country for promotion to the Bench—namely, practice at the Bar—is an absolute disqualification in the opinion of our neighbours. And this disability is not merely the result of custom, usage or popular prejudice ; it is enshrined for all time in statutory enactments ; it is supported by unanswerable arguments in the opinion of Continental jurists ; and it is accepted with entire unanimity by all Continental communities. A

reasoned defence of the minority system—where the minority is two against the world—in the training of Judges was undoubtedly an attractive headline in the leading journal. For it seemed that a defence would be offered. And, indeed, it was not uncalled for in view of the growing dissatisfaction with our legal equipment, which it is no longer possible to conceal. That Lord Haldane, the acknowledged head of our system, should undertake its defence was in keeping with the fitness of things.

No fewer than thirty-nine Judges sat down to dinner. They came from nearly all parts of the Empire—India, the China coast, the West Coast of Africa, the Straits Settlements, and even Uganda were represented by occupants of the Bench. It is delightful to contemplate the adherents of some half-dozen religions seated at the same festive board enjoying the good cheer, for which the Mansion House is famous, in peace and harmony. Of one thing we may rest assured ; however widely their religious tenets may have diverged, whether they turned their faces during the saying of “grace” to Mecca, Jerusalem, or less distinguished shrines, the thirty-nine Judges were in agreement as complete as if they had one and all signed our Thirty-Nine Articles, that the natural and proper training for the Bench is practice at the Bar. In the choice of such a theme before such an audience, Lord Haldane, well aware that his immediate hearers were already converted, might have been expected to avail himself of a golden opportunity to address a larger public beyond those walls. Not doubting that such was the Lord Chancellor’s purpose, we endeavoured to place ourselves “in a concatenation accordingly” in order to appreciate the full significance of what we may venture to call a minority report—a minority of two. We mean two countries : the Lord Chancellor was to hold a brief, on this occasion for the Republic as well as for the Empire, and surely a great effort might have been expected in view of the fact that his lordship is to be the guest of the United States Bar Association in the immediate future.

And yet our disillusionment is complete. No disappointment that we have hitherto experienced is equal to this. Our readers shall judge whether our dejection is justified. The Lord Chancellor states the diverging views with great clearness. Here they are in a few words :—

"In other countries the Judge belonged to a profession by itself. With us he was trained at the Bar, in the school of affairs."

In the very second sentence, however, we are painfully aware that the special pleader is emerging. It is assumed that the Bar is one of the best schools of affairs. Not only is this a large and unwarrantable assumption, but a singular vagueness of phrasing, which may conceal much but expresses nothing accurately. The Bar is a school of many things ; and, considering the unmitigated hostility which the sages of the great majority of nations show to its teachings, the champion of the minority of two might have felt constrained to develop at greater length this portion of his defence. This is its core and kernel. But the protagonist of training at the Bar as a preparation for judicial duties shirks the main issue and passes from the crux of his subject without another word about the Bar. "The Bar is a school of affairs." Who denies it? Who has ever taken the trouble to advance such a self-evident proposition ? The Stock Exchange is a school of affairs. So is the Curia in Rome ; so is the Wai-wu-pu in Peking ; so is the board of any public or private company ; so is the W.S.P.U. ; so is the Oxford Union. If our readers protest that it is unfair to his lordship to wander so widely from the administration of justice in mentioning a selection of schools of affairs, we make answer and say that his lordship himself wanders not less widely. His next words are an eulogium of the House of Commons as a school of affairs. We quote the entire passage :

"In other countries the judge belonged to a profession by itself. With us he was trained at the Bar,

in the school of affairs, and often in that most remarkable of all colleges—in which he spent twenty-five years of his own life—the House of Commons. They might say what they liked about the House of Commons, but it remained the finest school of affairs and the greatest representative institution in the world. (Cheers.) The greatest piece of good fortune that had come to him in his public life was that he had twenty-five years training in that great school. The judges had a training and a tradition which he thought brought them into contact with the concrete realities of life in a way which was not easy when the training of the judges was different from what it was here. They learned by their very contact with public affairs to eliminate politics. He sat recently with three colleagues to hear a somewhat unusual and difficult case. It was a question whether a member of Parliament had forfeited his seat or not.* He had for his colleagues two very distinguished members of the opposite political party, and of his own party there was an ex-Chancellor and himself. He could only say that a more perfect tribunal he had never experienced, and he thought that they all forgot that there was such a thing as politics in the world, or that there was anything but law to be considered. (Cheers.) These were the traditions of the Bench."

We desire to treat this pronouncement with the full measure of respect which it deserves. But where we expected a defence of the English method of training a judge, we are oppressed with a feeling of awe; we find something entirely different. Lord Haldane gives us the prescription for producing that fine flour of our legal system

* It may be mentioned that all students of contemporary politics do not find a subject for national congratulation in this case. Mr. G. K. Chesterton, in the *Daily Herald* of May 31, makes the following comment: "When the Government allows the law to be broken persistently by Samuel, on the genial plea that it can always be repealed by Isaacs, that is anarchy."

—a Lord Chancellor. The Bar in this course corresponds to the school; the House of Commons is the college. It is the finest of the kind in the world, according to Lord Haldane. And we venture to expand his personal expression of gratitude for the good fortune of having spent twenty-five years in it by a respectful submission that not only his lordship himself, but the Empire is to be cordially congratulated on the result. But the Fates have decreed that hardly anything in this vale of tears is without an inconvenient side. An English Lord Chancellor is an extremely expensive product. No other country in the world can afford such a luxury; and if it is to occur with the frequency of the musical prodigy, the outlook is somewhat alarming. We have three Chancellors on our hands already at a cost of £20,000 a year in pay and pensions.

We may mention, parenthetically, another subject of congratulation which recommends itself to the Lord Chancellor—namely, the supreme excellence of the tribunal which is our highest court of appeal—the House of Lords. Without the least desire to minimize the tribute of national indebtedness for this tribunal of cosmic excellence, we may be permitted to remind our readers that this last appeal for national recognition, although coming from an exalted quarter, is part of an inveterate habit long since contracted by our lawyers of all grades in giving themselves testimonials. Nor is it possible to escape the reflection that it is being overdone. If the consumers of legal products were sometimes heard in their praise it would be a refreshing change from this continual trumpeting by the purveyors. Our lawyers form a mutual admiration society which has no parallel in the world. "English justice" is a brand whose qualities cannot be approached by any foreign article. These qualities depend chiefly upon the exceptional training of the judges—exceptional as compared with their confrères on the Continent of Europe.

When we return to consider the usual training of the great majority of our Judges, we find that the great school

of affairs—the House of Commons—is no necessary part of it. A great many Judges—by far the greater number—have never been and are not now members of the House of Commons. So the less favoured ones have to be content with the Bar as their sole and only school of affairs. If our legal system resembled anything else in the world, one would expect that training for definite duties would be directed to the development and strengthening of the particular quality or set of qualities held to be best adapted for adequate performance of these duties. That simple principle rules all other methods of training for well-ordered services, and the special training of Judges in Continental nations is no exception. They are trained for judicial duties, not by spending years—and these the most impressionable years of their professional lives—in flinging all their resources into one scale, as the barrister must do, but in learning to hold their balance even. Their decisions are subjected to the closest scrutiny by the Department of Justice, which is not an appanage of the Bar existing to shield judicial blundering and eccentricity; it exists abroad to protect the public. The judicial career is continuous from the junior magistrate to the Judge of the Supreme Court. Judges are not pitchforked on to the Bench after their best years have been devoted to the Bar, and after they have had imprinted upon their intellectual outfit indelible traces of the environment of the Bar. For we must not forget the dyer's hand.

It follows that unless we are prepared to admit that the administration of justice in this country is not only different from the administration of justice in every other country, but from all other human activities, we should be content to hear less of vague panegyric on schools of affairs, and more of the establishment of an Imperial School of Law. But the Inns of Court are opposed to the agitation favoured by the Law Society for the founding of such a school, and the Lord Chancellor is so well satisfied with the training that has produced himself and his colleagues of both political

parties that he evidently thinks it incapable of any improvement whatsoever.

To such an extent does Lord Haldane push his acquiescence with every vagary of the system of which he is the head, that the connection of the Bench with politics is declared to be beneficial to the Bench. Rarely, indeed, has advocacy ventured on such a flight as this. Politics are beneficial to the Bench because the path to the Woolsack is open to the political partisan. But what concerns the public is another question : Is the intermingling of politics with law favourable to the administration of justice ? The effect of rendering the administration of Justice ancillary to politics is obviously detrimental when we consider that the case is of quite common occurrence, which the leading journal describes in these words in its issue of December 1, 1911 : "It would be untrue to say that the choice was universally approved, and it is possible that party claims were considered as much as legal qualifications. There were at least half a dozen men with better credentials." The reference is to an appointment to the Bench. It is greatly to be feared that the Lord Chancellor is not exempt from the besetting sin of those whose long unchallenged ascendancy makes them spoilt children of the State ; they are convinced that their glittering baubles are conclusive proofs of the national welfare.

When we are assured in the peroration that entire forgetfulness of politics and exclusive concentration on law were the traditions of the English Bench, we are aware of a still more daring flight of invention, and we are sunk in a still greater depth of despondency. We ask in amazement : Where does the Lord Chancellor find this version of our legal history ? That history is one of the longest, one of the most chequered, and—during centuries together—one of the most discreditable in the world.

In the earliest times the laws of the Druids, whose headquarters were in this island—were regarded with the utmost respect over a large portion of Gaul. The traditions

of the Saxon Bench were of the highest. At the Norman Conquest this tradition disappeared under the blight of a series of monsters, who were a disgrace at once to the ermine and to our common humanity. The condition of the Bench under the Stuarts was infamous to the last degree. The Judges consigned innocent men to torture and death with a light heart. There was an immense improvement after the Restoration, and highly honourable traditions have been maintained by a small minority ever since. But the general condition of the Bench up to about the end of the first quarter—we might almost say the second quarter—of the last century, was deplorable in the extreme. Serjeant Ballantine, in his “*Reminiscences*,” writing in 1882 of 1832, has the following remarks: “The present generation would scarcely credit the amount of villainy, fraud, and oppression which, previous to that period, flourished under legal auspices. The gaols filled with victims; officers of the sheriffs robbing both creditors and debtors; small courts, the offices of which were put up for sale, and the costs incurred by the suitors, brought ruin to both parties; immense taxes were imposed upon legal proceedings by numerous sinecure offices paid out of suitors’ pockets.” The same author says (p. 71): “The mode by which officers, called to perform high judicial duties, are elected is a scandal to the age.”

Our readers will not fail to mark the startling contrast between the outspokenness of a great special pleader when he is addressing the public after wig and gown have been laid aside, and the unctuous complacency of an equally great actor-advocate when addressing an audience composed chiefly of judges who have been recruited from the Bar. There are few more melancholy spectacles than a great officer of State transferring to his own order that paramount duty and allegiance which he owes to the Crown and the nation. According to our legal Pangloss, the world of law is the best of all possible worlds.

A slight acquaintance with the devious ways of the Bar

habit will satisfy us that confident averments in that sophistical domain have no direct relation to facts; the relation, indeed, is one of inverse ratio. The louder the asseveration, the weaker the case. When that is found to be true of the highest legal circles; when those who should lead the people are causing them to err, we are in possession of certain data for an estimate of the price which we pay for our devotion to the cult of advocacy.

We have looked at the counterfeit presentment—two pence coloured—as drawn by a great artist in bubble blowing. Let us turn for a moment to the plain picture, as presented by the leading journal in its issue of May 28 last in a leading article headed "Judicial Changes." Only a single cheerful note is heard throughout the article. It mentions the marvellous good fortune of the Government in regard to judicial patronage. There is only too much reason to fear that a government of lawyers is perfectly satisfied with this aspect of our legal condition. "Probably not within living memory," says the article, "has fortune been so kind in this respect to a Government." But when we contemplate that side of the legal fabric which is presented to the public, the pattern is seen to be extremely sombre and depressing. The following passage is a wholesome corrective to the pompous generalities with which we have been regaled :

"But things must be dealt with, not as they will be, but as they now are, when there is a block in several courts, when suitors must wait until their patience is worn out before their cases are tried. The evidence given before the Commission of Enquiry into arrears, substantially corroborated by Mr. Roberts, one of the members of the Commission, is to the effect that the state of things is going from bad to worse; that the interval between the issue of the writ and trial may be long, and that with the present strength of the Courts, there is no ground for expecting any substantial improvement. . . . What is not seen, and is apt to be

forgotten, is the loss to suitors, running into many thousands, it may be, owing to the postponement of cases, with the result that victory, when it is won, may be worthless. The plaintiff sues a defendant who could pay; he obtains a tardy judgment against a defendant who cannot. There are no returns of the just claims abandoned because the patience of suitors is exhausted. But such cases exist."

Add to the cases which have been begun and abandoned in despair those which have never been begun at all because of the inaccessibility of justice, owing to expense rather than delay, and we have two companion pictures.

In one a small and select body of stately and dignified personages are seen smiling, satiated, somnolent. Incense is rising in faintly odoriferous circlets. The High Priest of Athena Agyraia is performing the prescribed rites to an accompaniment of soft music.

The voice is modulated in the best liturgical manner. The matter is of no importance. The audience is uncritical. Each individual member of it has often conducted the same service of praise to the insular incarnation of the Goddess of Justice. Her superiority to all Continental rivals has long been an article of faith, unquestioned, unchallenged. Nor is this undoubted superiority confined to the Goddess herself; it extends to her entire priesthood. It is proved by the unprecedented scale of their emoluments and by the paucity of their numbers, to which that scale places effectual limits. Great is Athena of the Islanders! The contributions of the faithful to her temples are continually increasing. All is well with the world.

The other picture is crowded with figures, but there is a regrettable absence of dignity and repose. Eager, discontented faces seem to be expressive of bitter grievances. In various detached groups there is a voluble speaker to whom his listeners are nodding assent, each one waiting impatiently for his turn to unfold his own tale of wrong. The scene of the picture is a Hall of the Lost Footsteps. In

the background a female figure of heroic size is seen holding a pair of scales. A number of poorly dressed people, men and women, are crouching near the base of the great statue—while one poor, demented creature seems to be apostrophizing the figure in the most uncomplimentary terms. In the crowded canvas there is not a single happy or contented countenance except the great statue, whose Olympic calm is that of the sequestered deities of Lucretius, careless of mankind.

But, surely, our readers will object, the mere fact of juxtaposition—plus a statue in both pictures—does not constitute companionship without the existence of a more intimate relation. We answer that the relation is of the most intimate character; it is that of cause and effect. There is no possibility of securing an adequate number of judges if their salaries are to be maintained on the existing scale, which is between three and four times that of Continental judges, and double that of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. The numerical inadequacy of our judiciary is ludicrous when compared with the fact that in large provincial towns in France, Germany, and Holland there is a complete High Court equipment. Lord Gorell emphasized this fact in supporting the County Courts Bill in the House of Lords in the debate of July, 1909. As regards the condition of things existing at that time, these are his words: “There was great dissatisfaction in the country at the way in which the High Court work was done, because of the expense and the shortness of time allowed to the assizes. The sitting of the assizes was fitted to the time allowed, instead of the time being fitted to the work that ought to be done. There was a demand that the County Courts should have the suggested facilities.”

The Lord Chancellor (Loreburn) followed on the same side. He said: “He hoped their lordships would not respond to the invitation of the noble earl (ex-Chancellor Halsbury) by striking out the vital clause of the bill. The

evil of litigation was that it was so expensive." . . . The clause was lost. For the clause, 32 ; against, 37.

That was four years ago ; and, according to the statement in the leading journal cited above, things are going from bad to worse. There is constant tinkering, mostly of a make-believe order, but no root and branch reform. That strenuous measures are imperatively demanded is not to be denied when we look under the surface and realize the mass of injustice to which the difficulty and expense of redress must necessarily give rise.

But once more, we imagine our readers * objecting. Granted that the paucity of judges is a practical denial of justice, and that the proximate cause is the unprecedented scale on which their emoluments have been fixed by commuting fees—in the days of corruption—and lumping them with salaries, properly so called, where is the connection between these emoluments and the training of judges? That is obviously a pertinent question, and we make haste to answer it.

The task is, fortunately, an easy one. The solidarity of Bar and Bench is the great obstacle to modernity in the legal domain. The Inns of Court are the citadel of mediævalism. The true inwardness of the allegiance of the great majority of our judges of the past was neither rendered to Crown nor nation, but to their own order—which means the Bar in its exalted form. If that proposition is challenged, it is only fair that the challenger should be invited to advance any other hypothesis which will explain our extreme backwardness in the legal domain compared with our neighbours across the North Sea. Revolutionary innovators in science, we are not even capable borrowers in law. When men like Lord Loreburn and Lord Gorell lament the expense and delay of our litigation, does our challenger make light of such criticism? How does he account for the desponding tone of the leading journal? French judges and jurists, instigated by Napoleon, have bequeathed a system of codification to the country to which

public gratitude is the crowning tribute. The same observation applies, in perhaps still fuller measure, to German judges and jurists. Their exceeding great reward is the gratitude of their countrymen. Their pecuniary remuneration is about a quarter of that of our judges, as already mentioned. Vested interests, sanctified by time and hallowed by the inexhaustible patience of a long-suffering public, have kept us in a legal backwater to this day. If this seems an over-statement, we commend a reference to the debate on the County Courts Bill in the House of Lords as reported in the *Times* of July 27, 1909. In moving the rejection of the Clause which Lord Loreburn deemed vital, Lord Halsbury said : "The Bar Council and the Northern Circuit had sent him strongly-worded protests against the proposed new system," as if that fact settled the matter. It did settle the matter as regards the majority of the House. But what is most significant is the tone of Lord Loreburn's reference to the Bar in his reply to Lord Halsbury. "In Scotland," Lord Loreburn said, "the Sheriff had unlimited jurisdiction : and nearly all the business was conducted locally and to the universal satisfaction of the community. *Something had been said about the effect of this proposal on the Bar. He had a sincere affection for his profession, and he was quite certain that the Bar would never be better advised than to keep in constant and harmonious touch with the interests of the public.* (Hear, hear !) *The Bar, therefore, in his judgment, would never desire to hinder a reform which was generally desired by the public. He also believed that, in these special sittings set up all over England with the County Court Judges trying important cases, the Bar would find it to be of advantage, because this measure would give facilities for the kind of litigation to which the majority of the people would wish to have recourse in the desire to obtain justice.* (Hear, hear !)" The italics are ours. Conciliatory platitudes were unavailing : the clause was lost by five votes, as mentioned above. But the extreme consideration extended to the

interested opposition of the Bar will not be lost upon the reader. It is true that, when the advice which Lord Loreburn proffered was rejected, and the hostility of the Bar to another measure—the registration of title—was hardly less pronounced than that of the solicitors', he did not mince matters. These are his words: “The most strenuous opposition has been offered by the majority of the legal profession, principally supported by the Law Society.” The change of tone is intelligible when he perceived that the attitude of the profession was fundamentally irreconcilable to his policy of reform. His delicate handling of the subject drew no response from the Bar, notwithstanding the fact that the representative of a foreign and not over-friendly State could not have been approached with more profound respect than Lord Loreburn showed in his attempt to conciliate the Bar four years ago. The soundest and friendliest advice was tactfully vouchsafed: regard for vested interest was carried to the point of suggesting the possibility of pecuniary advantage from the change proposed. When the utmost efforts, in a manner that would have done credit to the training of a high contracting party, were unavailing; nay, more, when a novel feature in delicate diplomacy—an expression of sincere affection—is added (and cold-shouldered by the Bar with the rest), we are in a position to realize the fact that characterizing the legal caste as an *imperium in imperio* is no rhetorical flourish, but an accurate statement of fact.

This is the place to point out that Lord Loreburn's character will be entirely misunderstood if our readers jump at the conclusion—from his attitude in this transaction—that his normal tone is one of bated breath and whispered humbleness. On the contrary, the very man who exhausted every formula of consideration for extreme sensitiveness in approaching the Bar was not afraid to brave the wrath of all the hot gospellers of his own party by appointing to the magistracy those whom he considered the best men, without regard to political leanings. If this courage-

ous man is worsted in an unwilling conflict with the Bar, what is to be hoped for from the timid adherent of the cult of the jumping cat?

We submit this proposition with the utmost confidence: We have adduced convincing proof that in this State of England an occult power is, in sober fact, the paramount power. That power never overtly demands, but it is thoroughly well assured of the supreme allegiance of the great majority of His Majesty's judges. Learned, upright, and honourable, they are not in the enjoyment of that degree of freedom which is necessary to take a sound view of the system of which they form a prominent part. They are held fast in fetters of gold. Undue influence is seen in its most insidious form when it is masked so artfully as to excite no repugnance in the average mind; when the glamour of great names and age-long associations are mobilized for the maintenance of a form of medievalism which is an incubus* on the national life. When it is borne in mind that the obstructive tactics deplored and deprecated by Lord Loreburn are resorted to by men who are barristers to-day and judges to-morrow; when we read in the *Times* of June 7, that "not long ago there were notorious offenders: rapacious counsel who took fees with indifference as to the likelihood of their being present in Court; bold brigands who never untied the papers left with them. Abuses of this sort are far fewer and less flagrant than they were."† But they are not absolutely

* In the *Globe* of May 20, 1913, we read: "For the term which begins at the Royal Courts of Justice to-day, no fewer than 1,712 cases are entered. Actions for defamation and slander will occupy a large part of the term. Thirty-nine libel and thirteen slander cases stand for trial."

† The apologists of the legal profession are occasionally outspoken about the past, although exceedingly reticent about the present. These extracts are from a letter that appeared in the *Times* during the month of November, 1909: "I refer to the extreme age of the occupants of the bench. When I first went circuit in the seventies, I followed three judges whose continuance on the bench was a scandal. The first had almost entirely lost his voice . . . the jury were unable to catch a single sentence. The second . . . was so tetchy that the most experienced counsel confessed

unknown. They occur often enough to create scandal and to leave in clients' minds a sense of injustice." This passage, be it observed, is not from the letter of a correspondent with a bitter grievance to ventilate; it is from a leading article, and the leading journal never darkens the picture of the legal profession unduly. In the instance given we appreciate the full extent of the teachings of that school of affairs which is the Bar. Its lessons include brigandage more heinous than that of Calabria; nor have we the smallest guarantee that some of those unconverted freebooters of the past are not at this moment administering what they are pleased to call "English Justice."

When we pass in review the past and present history of the Anglo-Norman legal system, of which the corner-stone is a Bar-trained judiciary; when we have regard to the expense, the delay, the uncertainty, the obscurantism of this system in this country and its ravages in India and the United States; when we recall the fact that in India, where one-third of the judges are not Bar-trained, and that these—far from being responsible for a third of the scandalous failures of justice which are fairly numerous in our Eastern dependency—are not concerned in a hundredth part of them; when we observe the pathetic despondency of the apologists of this system and the still more pathetic powerlessness for good of its own best elements—we are forced to the conclusion that the arrogant pretensions of its champions, far from being a guarantee of the soundness of their cause, is merely a measure of their trust in the illimitable credulity of the public. When these truculent champions of mediævalism meet in a quiet place they smile, like the Roman augurs, and whisper: "It will last our time, and after us the deluge."

their inability to know how to treat him. Those two Judges, when appointed, were over seventy years of age. The third Judge was physically vigorous, but exceedingly deaf, and quoted from his notes remarks which the witnesses had never made." Probably no inkling of this scandal was heard by the lay world of the period.

INDIAN POLICE REFORM: THE POLICE COMMISSION OF 1902.

BY VIATOR.

I

"If you want to know the time, ask a policeman."

These lines aptly illustrate the friendly relations which exist between the police and the public in England. We are proud, and justly proud, of our English police, and especially the London police.

They are honest, zealous, alert, and, above all things, courteous to everyone, high or low. The most trivial inquiry never meets with a rude reply, though it must be admitted that the London police are frequently harassed in this way while their attention should be directed to more important duties.

The public have confidence in the police, and obey them willingly. Order is maintained in the crowded streets of our great Metropolis without difficulty, and the public are ready at all times to give the police such assistance as is in their power.

But the English police and public have not always been on such good terms. The report of the English Police Commission presented to Parliament in 1839 contained quite a different account of the attitude of the public to the police. The progress made in the last seventy years is

most remarkable, and the happy result is a state of mutual confidence and respect such as is not to be found in any other country in the world.

Unfortunately, there is a part of the British Empire where a different state of affairs exists. In India there is no mutual confidence between the police and the public. The public—rightly or wrongly—never cease to complain against police tyranny, and the relations between the parties are like those of two hostile camps.

It must be conceded that the popular opinion in India is that the police are corrupt, inefficient, and tyrannical, and that abuses exist which materially affect the happiness and welfare of the population of that vast continent.

The object of this article is to show how far this opinion is correct, or to what extent it is exaggerated.

The Government of India have from time to time appointed Commissions to inquire into the system of police administration in the country.

A select Commission of Inquiry was appointed by the East India Government in 1832, and the report then made was unfavourable to the police.

Again, in 1860 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the whole question of police administration. Certain administrative changes were introduced, and the police forces in the different provinces organized under one general system.

Further improvements were effected in 1890 under Lord Lansdowne's Government, but it does not appear that any special attention was drawn to the relations between the police and the public until the Commission appointed under a resolution of the Government of India, dated July 9, 1902, issued its report. That Commission held 50 public sittings, examined 279 witnesses, and considered replies to written questions from 583 persons.

In chapter ii. of the report a full account is to be found, setting forth what the Commission ascertained was the general opinion of the country about the police. The

finding is recorded in paragraph 30, and the following extract explains itself :

"What is aimed at here is rather to give an account of the reputation of the police force and the feelings of the people towards them. The Commission have the strongest evidence that the police force is, as a whole, regarded as far from efficient, and is stigmatized as corrupt and oppressive. There is, no doubt, exaggeration in the picture presented by some of the witnesses. The evil that men do is more marked than the quiet discharge of duty; and there is more inclination to speak of the evil than of the good. It is generally admitted that the majority of the accused sent up by the police are guilty, and that under most circumstances the desire of the police is to find the guilty person, though they are too prone, sometimes without due regard to the character of the evidence, to make out a case of guilt against suspects. It is significant that a proposal to move a police-station from any neighbourhood is generally opposed by the people; they know that, on the whole, the police are for their protection. It is also generally admitted that the improvement in communications and enlightenment has led to improvement in the police in most parts of India, though this has not by any means kept pace with the improvement in other departments. It is also clear that the lamentable picture of police inefficiency and corruption drawn by witness after witness is not a picture of universal experience. There are honest and efficient police officers of all grades, though they are represented as being very exceptional in the lower grades. There are also some superintendents who have, by their energy and capacity, so far overcome the defects of system and of the material at their disposal as in great measure to mitigate and restrain the evils which naturally result from these defects. Similarly, the fact that the District Magistrate and his subordinates in their revenue and other work are in some provinces brought into the closest contact with the people, accessible to them and well acquainted with them, has tended greatly to prevent abuse in the police as well as in other departments. Neither do the Commission forget that much may be said in excuse for the misconduct of the police in the generally indifferent attitude of the people in respect of crime, in the encouragement of corruption by the readiness with which

the people offer illegal gratifications, and in the low pay and poor prospects of the police service. But honourable exceptions and mitigating circumstances cannot efface the general impression created by the evidence recorded. There can be no doubt that the police force throughout the country is in a most unsatisfactory condition, that abuses are common everywhere, that this involves great injury to the people and discredit to the Government, and that radical reforms are urgently necessary."

But the Government of India did not accept this finding in its entirety, and their opinion is set forth in their resolution, dated March 21, 1905, in the following terms:

"It may further be observed that, even if each separate statement in the chapter is regarded as true, true statements may be so combined as to form an exaggerated picture; and this particular picture, even if read subject to the qualifications of paragraph 30, appears to the Government of India to convey an impression the acceptance of which would not be fair to the Indian police force as a whole. Each statement is doubtless true sometimes, in some places, of some people and in some cases; perhaps often, in many places, of many people and in many cases; but not (as is implied) almost always, of almost all people and in almost all cases. Above all, while each individual malpractice which is described does undoubtedly exist, all of them do not exist in that combination in which chapter ii. presents them. By picking out and massing together all the separate blots which at various times disfigure police work in India, the Commission have produced a picture which would, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, give to any outside observer a somewhat over-coloured idea of the ordinary conduct of a police inquiry or of the habitual behaviour of the police—at any rate in the majority of Indian provinces. It seems to him that the Commission have perhaps hardly made sufficient allowance for the tendency of the Indian witness to exaggerate, especially when he has a genuine grievance. Nor have they sufficiently borne in mind that much of what is called 'corruption' is little more than a highly-developed form of that system of paying expedition money which is not unknown in Europe. It must also be remembered that

the giving and taking of money, whether mere gratuities or something more serious, is still traditional among the Indian people, and quite as much so among the givers as among the takers, and is objected to only when it exceeds certain recognized limits, and becomes injurious and excessive. Where the materials are inferior, and the standard of personal conduct is low, the quality of the work done is bound to reflect the character of the agency employed. The subordinate police officer is worse than the similarly-placed subordinate in many other departments, mainly in so far as his power and opportunities are greater."

During the period of seditious unrest which reached its height during Lord Minto's term of office, violent attacks were made on the Indian police by some Members of Parliament, most of whom had no personal knowledge of India. Questions were asked as to isolated cases of police misconduct, and the impression it was intended to convey to the British public was that the Indian police, as a body, were in the habit of conducting inquiries in a tyrannical and cruel way.

The opinion expressed in the report of the Police Commission of 1902 had, unfortunately, given some kind of official confirmation to these broadcast accusations, and it is much to be regretted that a body of men whose work compares most favourably with the work of police in other countries working in a similar environment should have been so violently attacked in the House of Commons on such prejudiced and unreliable information.

It is well known, and cannot be denied, that during that critical period the police were most loyal to Government in its efforts to stamp out the seditious movement which was spreading with alarming rapidity over the land.

This movement gathered strength from the secret connivance and assistance of a number of highly educated men who kept in the background, and allowed half-educated and immature schoolboys to carry out their wicked designs.

These well-meaning gentlemen in Parliament, by giving

prominence to individual instances of police misconduct, unwittingly encouraged and aggravated the forces of disorder and sedition against which English magistrates and police officers were fighting an uphill battle in the face of the greatest difficulty and discouragement.

II

The writer of this article wishes to give a few special instances which exemplify the peculiar and extraordinary difficulties under which the police have to work in India.

An ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory. These examples, which are all within the personal experience of the writer, may serve to enlighten the British public as to the character of the people with whom the Indian police have to deal.

The principal and greatest difficulty which the police have to meet is the absence of public opinion and of any general desire to give assistance when an inquiry has to be made. The Police Commission, in paragraph 32 of their report, deal with this attitude of the Indian public in the following terms :

“As to the attitude of the people in regard to investigation of offences and the detection of offenders, there can be no doubt that it differs widely from the attitude of the people of England. The people of India are not generally actively on the side of law and order; unless they are sufferers from the offence, their attitude is generally, at the very best, one of silent neutrality; they are not inclined actively to assist the officers of the law.”

The consequence is that, when a police sub-inspector goes to a village to make an inquiry, the residents as a rule absolutely refuse to render the slightest assistance or give any information. The sub-inspector may know perfectly well that the villagers are withholding valuable information, and if he acts strictly in accordance with law his inquiry will be fruitless, and an unsuccessful inquiry often entails censure from his superior officer, who has not been

able to realize the difficulty under which the inquiry was made.

A specific instance of the hostile attitude of the people was reported to the writer some ten years ago.

A money-lender was living with his wife and family of four children in a small village of about one hundred and fifty inhabitants. His house was well built, and carefully locked up at night. One morning a servant who usually worked at the house could not obtain admission, as the doors were all locked. In due time the police were informed, and the sub-inspector on reaching the village broke open the door, and found that the whole family of six persons had been cruelly murdered.

Immediately after this discovery the *whole of the male population of the village disappeared*, leaving only women and children. The police stayed a week, but could find no one from whom any inquiry could be made. It was suspected that the murders had been committed by persons who owed money to the money-lender, and who had been dunned by him; but it was impossible to obtain the slightest clue, although there could be no doubt that several residents of the village knew perfectly well who the murderers were, and could, if they had chosen, have given valuable information.

The sub-inspector was a respectable man who declined to resort to any kind of malpractice, but a more unscrupulous man would have put illegal pressure on the villagers, and might thus have obtained a clue.

The sub-inspector was censured for his failure to work the case out—that is, he got a bad mark against his name simply because he tried to work honestly and in accordance with law.

This case is typical of hundreds of others which are of constant occurrence, and in such cases it is not surprising that the police officer making the inquiry sometimes becomes exasperated, and has recourse to measures not authorized by law in order to obtain a conviction.

Another great difficulty which the police have to deal with is of a directly opposite character.

If a native of India wishes to get his enemy into trouble, he seeks the co-operation of the police. When a serious crime is committed or reported, his first idea is to induce the police—often by offers of money—to implicate his enemy, and thus secure his conviction and imprisonment. If the police officer is honest and refuses to be bribed, every effort is made to render the inquiry useless, by preventing the production of any evidence at all.

Frequently, in addition to this, false accusations against the police officer are despatched to the Magistrate and Government, in the hope of getting him into trouble.

Take the following typical instance :

An influential landowner was on bad terms with a money-lender to whom he was indebted to a considerable amount. One night some armed robbers attacked a house in the village, and two men were killed. The police-station was four miles distant, and an hour after the affair the landowner came in person to the police-station, and offered the sub-inspector a bribe of Rs. 1,000 (£60) if he would insert, in the report about the offence, the allegation that the money-lender had been recognized amongst the burglars by some villagers.

The landowner declined to be personally responsible for the report, and the sub-inspector rightly refused to manipulate it to oblige him. The consequence was that the landowner prevented the villagers from giving any assistance during the inquiry, and sent in no less than seven petitions to the District Magistrate and Government, making serious accusations against the sub-inspector. A special inquiry was ordered, and the unfortunate sub-inspector was placed under suspension for six weeks. Nothing was proved against him, but in the meantime the inquiry into the burglary came automatically to an end. When it was resumed, there was no hope of obtaining any reliable evidence, and the real criminals escaped unpunished.

No doubt a mistake was made in directing the suspension of the sub-inspector merely because the landowner persistently made accusations against him, and the case is typical as showing the great risks run by an honest officer who tries to do his duty.

The practice of sending petitions containing serious charges against the police officer making the inquiry is very common when a rich or powerful offender is involved. It frequently has the desired effect. The unfortunate police officer, instead of being free to make his inquiries, has to defend himself against a false accusation, and the original inquiry is either closed or given to another officer who is more amenable. The real criminal escapes scot-free simply because he has money and influence.

The experience of District Magistrates in Bengal of late years has been that it is practically impossible to get a rich offender convicted. Either the police inquiry elicits nothing, or, if sufficient evidence is forthcoming, the witnesses are then threatened, and they withdraw their statements before the Magistrate or Judge, as the case may be.

The above remarks indicate some of the difficulties the police have to meet owing to the peculiar characteristics of the people of India, but there is another matter which has had a serious effect on police work in past years, and this has accentuated the evils which have been indicated above.

It is referred to in paragraph 182 of the report of the Police Commission :

"It is a frequent criticism of Indian police administration that the work of police officers is judged almost entirely by statistics. There is, no doubt, exaggeration in this view, but there is also much justification for it. The annual reports, for example, contain a table showing for each district the ratio of crime to population, percentage of reported cases investigated, percentage of cases detected, and percentage of convictions in respect of persons arrested and prosecuted; while in some provinces it even yet concludes with a column containing what is called the 'figure of merit,' based on a combination of all these percentages. The station-house

officer naturally concludes that it is of the first importance for his promotion and prospects that he should obtain a high ratio of convictions, both to cases and to persons arrested; and he believes that attention is given much less to the methods of his work than to the results of it, and that but little inquiry will be made regarding the means, provided the ends are satisfactory. It is not necessary to expatiate upon the evils which flow from the wide prevalence of these mischievous opinions among subordinate police officers."

The efforts of police officers have, in consequence of these ideas, been devoted to obtaining convictions *quocunque modo*, and it can be easily understood that the effect of judging their work by statistics has not been to improve it. Working as the police do amongst a people who can be easily induced or persuaded to give false evidence, the temptation to secure such evidence for the purposes of conviction is often too strong to resist, and the result is that accused persons are sent up for trial upon evidence which the police officer inquiring into the case must know is untrue. But he thinks his prospects depend on a good percentage of convictions, and he must therefore run some risks.

The following instance may be taken as showing how much evil may result from an ill-judged remark at an inspection. It was told to the writer by an Englishman who has a large estate in the North of India. There is a police-station on the estate, and the sub-inspector came one day to the Englishman's house and showed him a note in the inspection report by the Police Superintendent. It was to the effect that the ratio of crime to population was much below the provincial average, and if the ratio was not brought up to the average within six months the sub-inspector would be reduced and transferred.

The Englishman knew that bad characters and known criminals were not allowed to stay in any village on the estate, and therefore professional crime was practically non-existent in the neighbourhood. The sub-inspector could only increase the ratio of crime by having false reports made at the station.

In this dilemma he appealed to his English friend for assistance.

The matter was fully reported to the District Magistrate, and the order complained about was cancelled in due course.

But if this sub-inspector had not had an English friend to appeal to, what would have happened? He would either have been obliged to submit to unjust punishment, or allow false reports of imaginary crimes to be entered in the registers.

The above instances demonstrate the unusual difficulties under which the Indian police have to carry on the work, and it is not surprising that cases of misconduct occur from time to time.

When they become known, they are immediately reported, and commented on in Parliament in order to show that the whole force is corrupt and tyrannical. In the experience of the writer, extending over thirty-five years, the reverse is the case.

Thousands of cases are dealt with monthly in each province in India, and the cases where police misconduct is proved or suspected bear an infinitesimal ratio to the total number of cases dealt with.

During the last thirty years there has been a vast improvement in the tone of the police force. Actual physical torture or violence is seldom resorted to, though fifty or sixty years ago it was frequently practised in order to extort confessions.

But so long as the public are hostile, or even apathetic, so long considerable friction must arise, especially when the police have to inquire into a serious case, such as murder or burglary by armed men.

There is every hope that, with the spread of sound primary education and a higher public opinion, the relations between the police and the public will continue to improve, and it is not unreasonable to anticipate a distinct advance in police work as soon as the reforms proposed by the Police

Commission, and sanctioned by the Government of India, have had time to bear fruit.

What is specially necessary is the appointment of officers to the grade of inspector and sub-inspector who have not risen from the ranks, and who will bring to the service a spirit of integrity and righteousness. From this a beneficent influence will soon be felt throughout the service, and the Indian public will in time learn to feel the same confidence and respect for their own police that is such a notable feature in English public opinion on police work in England.

BRITISH ART EDUCATION FROM AN EASTERN STANDPOINT.

By E. B. HAVELL.

SINCE the functions of the old Science and Art Department at South Kensington were merged with those of the Board of Education at Whitehall frequent attempts have been made to revise our whole system of national art education, represented by the Royal College of Art and the numerous art schools and classes which receive grants from public funds. An entirely new scheme of examinations will come into force in 1913, and a standing committee of advice has been constituted to enable the Board to have the assistance of eminent artists, teachers in schools of art, manufacturers and others engaged in the industries closely connected with art.

The frequency of these revisions is a commendable indication of departmental dissatisfaction with the present state of art education, and at the same time it shows a feeling of uncertainty as to the character of the reforms which are necessary. If the Committee now appointed succeeds in establishing clear and definite principles upon which a sound practical scheme of national art education can be based they will have rendered an important public service. The subject certainly requires full discussion, and as one who has gone through the whole departmental mill and found out its deficiencies in trying to apply its principles,

or lack of principles, to art education in the only part of the Empire where a strong national tradition of art still survives, I venture to express the views which practical experience both in this country and in India has led me to form.

The basic theory of the original South Kensington system of art training in the middle of the last century was that there are certain fundamental laws and principles common to all European art, though the highest expression of them was only to be found in the classical art of Greece and Rome and in that of the Italian Renaissance, founded upon classical traditions. The student in his search for first principles was, therefore, at that time directed almost exclusively to the study of Classic or Renaissance models; but the influence of the so-called Gothic revival soon widened the base of his archæological investigations, and later on a very limited view of Oriental art—that which regards it as a useful manufacturer's pattern-book rather than as a revelation of the Oriental mind—was opened up for him by the present collections at South Kensington Museum.

One of the greatest obstacles to the understanding of the whole philosophy of Oriental art has been the fallacious doctrine laid down by critics that the correct drawing of the human figure has been too difficult a problem for the Oriental artist, and that, owing to this lack of intellectuality, India, China, and Japan have never produced a "fine" art.

The South Kensington curriculum for art teachers, while it is intended to give an all-round training in art practice, is especially directed towards the industrial applications of art, and it is in this respect that its fundamental error, which all the revisions made in the last fifty years have failed to eradicate, can be most clearly seen. This is, to put it concisely, a confusion between the aims of art, archæology, and of trade; so that art teaching becomes less the calling forth of all the creative powers of the mind than the empirical application of certain formulae, more or less imperfectly understood according to the facilities afforded

by textbooks and local museums, to the demands of the manufacturer and shopkeeper. It is quite true that in recent years the departmental examiners, in response to the general complaints of manufacturers, have insisted upon a much greater knowledge of technical processes, and that the course of training in the Royal College of Art has been vastly improved in this and other respects. But the inherent vice of the old system of teaching design—a certain cosmopolitan antiquarianism—is still clearly evident both in the departmental curriculum for art teachers and in the works sent up for the annual examinations. A student is not led to regard design as fundamentally an expression of his own artistic consciousness, or of the racial artistic consciousness embodied in a tradition expressing national needs and ideals, but as a mnemonic system, learnt from fourth-rate encyclopaedias like Owen Jones's "Grammar of Ornament," from promiscuous sketching in museums, and by exercises known as "studies in historical styles." He is invited to wander over the face of the globe in the belief that he will gradually pick up a kind of artistic esperanto by studying the collections of archaeological oddments gathered together from the remains of many and diverse extinct civilizations.

Regarded merely as archaeology, the system is radically unsound, for in the attempt to learn all historical styles the art student acquires none; he becomes not a designer but a retailer of assorted forms and patterns for the trade. Though he may acquire the technical knowledge indispensable for adapting his antique stock-in-trade to the conditions of modern manufacture, his power of self-expression or creative sense remains stunted and undeveloped. He is not a creator of living art, born of his craftsman's sense of fitness and love of beauty, but a purveyor of cheap ornament.

As one of the examiners for the Board, I have noticed that even in design based upon *natura motifs* very many of the works sent up for art masters' certificates give clear

evidence of this evil tendency in the teaching—a tendency which goes far to explain the popular conception of art as something quite external to real life and work. In this particular exercise, based upon nature study, which is one of the subjects required for the art masters' certificates, the candidate is set free from all technical conditions and limitations and brought in direct contact with the primal source from which all art inspiration is drawn, with the root principles which govern all living art. He is required to show the decorative idea contained in any plant of his own choice and adapt it to a given space. Properly applied there is nothing better than this method of nature study for developing the inner perceptions of the art student—the third eye of spiritual vision which in Indian philosophy is the symbol for the artistic consciousness. Here the teacher should recognize that every flower and plant, indeed every natural form, represents an artistic idea—a type of organic growth—and that the object of the art student must be to bring out the idea of beauty contained in the type and apply it to decorative purposes.

This artistic idea may be illustrated in a great variety of ways, according to the temperament of the student; just as a musical *motif* may be made to conform to the mood of the performer. But in all these variations the art student should first be led to see that every flower and plant has an order of beauty peculiar to it; that there is a leliness in the lily, and a rosiness in the rose—a central idea, which is the tonic chord of its harmony. It is just here that the student is led astray. Instead of being brought into intimate spiritual relationship with the rhythmic laws of Nature, by realizing which the intuitive artistic sense in man becomes consciously or unconsciously creative, he merely regards Nature as providing useful material for his academic purpose—the imitation of a “style,” the elements of which he fondly imagines he has condensed within the covers of his museum sketch-book. A primrose by the river's brim is not a primrose to him, but something which may be tortured

out of all its own meaning and beauty to make an "art" pattern in a style which he or his teacher may admire, or think suitable for examination purposes, or which the fashion of the day may effect. This is a commercial pattern-making, not art.

When this pernicious tendency is strongly marked, not only in the experiments of young students, but in the mature work of candidates for art masters' certificates, it is evidently due to radical errors in the system of teaching, which call for a remedy. It is easy to see that the tendency is the direct outcome of a system of art-teaching based not upon national artistic instinct, but upon museums, art galleries, art textbooks, and examinations not properly co-ordinated for artistic purposes. The root of these errors lies in the old superstition that our natural artistic deficiencies, whatever they may be, can be supplied by collecting in our national museums the works of other people more artistic than ourselves. The miscellaneous collections which are brought together for the benefit of the art student really reveal to him nothing of those subtle intellectual and spiritual influences by which a national art is created. He may easily be made to see that Persian pottery is beautiful; but all that it sums up of the potter's life and environment, of Persian history and national character, of the intense love of flowers, which to Persian artists was a religion, of the deeper religious feeling expressed in Sūfi mysticism and of a highly cultivated poetic temperament—of the pure love and fancy which made the vessel he is not led to inquire. He does not learn to know the Potter who made the pot, and seek from Him the source of his inspiration.

Are we, then, to abolish museums and the study of historical styles of art, and leave students and teachers to their own intuitive perceptions—to the study of Nature and post-impressionism? If it were within the range of practical politics, it might be worth discussing whether an Order in Council closing all art museums, art galleries, and

the shops of dealers in antiquities, for a space of fifty years would not have a salutary effect in bringing art into closer touch with the realities of everyday life, and help to revise the popular conception of art as one of the extras in national education, intended to relieve the tedium of business and practical work—a festive garment, to be worn only on Sundays and holidays. However, I am far from wishing to argue that museums cannot be useful instruments in art education ; it is that, as now constituted, they are not useful enough. Nor do I take post-impressionism to be only the *facilis descensus Averni*. My Indian experience leads me to regard it as an experiment in applying Oriental art-philosophy to modern European life. It lacks generally the refinement and technical distinction which long tradition has given to Oriental painting ; but as a serious effort to bring art face to face with realities it is far from deserving the abuse which has been lavished upon it.

We want to get rid of the notion that art is a special enclosure reserved for the elect, for whom all contact with common life is contamination. If art, instead of shrinking away from the ugliness of modern industrialism, could teach the workers and men of business to regard mills and factories, not as blind instruments of commercial greed, but as symbols of giant spiritual forces ploughing through mire and slime towards some higher end, it would help to bring more hope to the worker, and a better incentive to the capitalist owner. The painter who can show to us the intensity of colour there is in a dull grey day in England, or the poetry and romance of a London fog, brings new interests into daily life. He has a healthier artistic outlook and deserves more public gratitude than the one who runs away to Italy or Egypt to bring us back glimpses of the sunshine we cannot enjoy. The artist who reveals to us the beauty that lies hidden in ugliness applies the ethics of Christianity to æsthetics ; the æsthetic sense need not be degraded by contact with publicans and sinners. By deepening and widening the sense of beauty the artist increases

our desire for it, and makes art penetrate deeper into the national life.

It is just that deepening of that national artistic consciousness which the present examination system and school-of-art teaching fail to accomplish. Schools of art which provide a pleasant intellectual recreation for the middle classes, but create no feeling of dissatisfaction with the hideous malformations of modern life, lack any serious aim. Apart from the aimless dilettantism which they cultivate, the methods of training art teachers are too artificial, mechanical, and lifeless. Students are made to work out with painful elaboration the most complicated mechanical problems in perspective, but seem to be totally unconscious that the results are generally hideously inartistic. They copy minutely *disjecta membra* of all the architectural styles as mere *objets d'art*, without understanding the place which belonged to each in the growth of a living organism. They learn to recognize all the bones and muscles of the human anatomy without being taught to express the beauty of life and movement. They are taught to draw, but their creative faculties are untrained.

In going round the annual exhibitions of the Royal Drawing Society I have been most struck with the fact that up to about twelve or fourteen years of age children show the most remarkable originality of conception and power of artistic expression. After that age, when they are brought within the influence of the school-of-art system, there comes over all the students' work one dead level of mechanical dexterity and lack of individuality. Psychological changes in the child's development may partly account for the difference, but this is certainly not a sufficient explanation of the sudden check to artistic growth.

It is that the officially recognized system of art teaching leads only to mechanical dexterity, and leaves the individual artistic consciousness to develop as it may by itself.

It may be questioned whether it is possible by any cut-

and-dried official system of examinations to promote vital national artistic growth. On the other hand, when public expenditure is incurred, it is necessary to have some kind of supervision over it ; and, however elastic the system might be to allow for originality of thought on the part of the teacher and student, there must be some guiding principle throughout the whole scheme of national education. That guiding principle must be that as every true artist or craftsman expresses his own individuality or racial consciousness in his art, and not only the formalities he has been taught at school, so any national scheme of art-teaching must be rooted in its own native soil, and not treated as an exotic of an artificial culture.

One illustration will show how little this guiding principle is recognized at present. In one of the subjects for the art class teacher's certificates, in which a piece of ornament is selected by the candidate from any of the casts stocked by schools of art, out of about one thousand works submitted for examination in 1911, five or six drawings of the Tudor rose—a beautiful example of English art, full of national historical significance for the coronation year—were sent up for examination ; but of Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Italian, French, German, and of a hideous nondescript variety of ornament manufactured specially for schools of art, there were scores and scores of each kind. It is clear that either the schools of art and art classes are very unsuitably equipped, or that the candidates are sadly undeveloped in aesthetic imagination.

We have a teaching system more or less efficient as regards the mechanics of art, but one which treats the aesthetic sense—the motive power by which the machine must be driven—as lying beyond the scope of educational methods. Yet, assuredly, if the aesthetic sense, the finer spirit of all knowledge, is not the inspiring force behind all the teaching and all the study in all our schools and colleges, we shall sooner or later fall behind other nations in the power of doing things well, which is inherent in all true art.

The city merchant who said that people go to the city for business, and not to get a vista, represents the practical common sense on which we as a nation pride ourselves. But lack of imagination is not confined to men of business, for I have been told by no less an authority than a director of public instruction in India that the teaching of drawing in schools is not meant to promote the artistic spirit; and once when I was questioning the action of the Calcutta University with regard to the teaching of drawing, one of the syndics declared that it was not an art subject! I fear that many educational experts in this country also are inclined to regard drawing more as an end in itself than as a means in developing the æsthetic consciousness. They look upon art more as the antithesis of intellectual effort than as the formative part of it; therefore, drawing, if concerned with art, loses its practical educational value.

Meredith was only expressing one of the universal laws of natural and intellectual growth when he made one of his characters say, "Ugly is only half-way to a thing." The people who are content to halt at that half-way station may soon be outstripped, even in practical business, by those more blessed with the divine yearning for perfection.

Art teaching must first of all be based upon the development of the artistic individuality of the student, of that æsthetic principle which is innate in human nature, as it is in all of what we call inanimate things. It should promote an active desire for beauty and fitness in every home, in town-planning and municipal activities, rather than the desire to shine in local picture exhibitions, the craving for curios and antique furniture, or that perverted æsthetic emotionalism which can only find satisfaction in the contemplation of old masters, classical antiquities, and medieval cathedrals. Teachers must be artists with a lively creative sense, not critics or archæologists who have learnt by rote an academic formulary. In art teaching, above all other kinds, personal magnetism, not the method, is the factor which counts most. Art can only be created

by art. If the Education Department would attract to its service the right kind of artist-teacher it must make its examination system more elastic and individualistic; for the present system which compels all candidates, no matter what their special artistic aptitudes may be, to devote the greater part of their student life to the preparation of the same regulation set of works for the departmental certificates tends to destroy all artistic individuality, and to keep out of the teaching profession the very type of artist and art-worker which should be attracted to it.

Schools of art must be centres which focus all the communal artistic intelligence, and bring it into practical co-operation for all municipal work and the needs of local crafts and industries. It is especially important for the schools of art to establish a close alliance between themselves and all the crafts connected with the building profession, so that local architects and builders may look to schools of art for competent practical assistance. Architecture is the mother of all the arts, and a little country from which we have much to learn educationally—Denmark—can show us how much can be done to promote a healthy national artistic life by a revival of the close relationship formerly existing between the practice of art and architecture.

Some fifteen years ago the municipality of Copenhagen was wise enough to recognize the genius of a great Danish architect, Professor Nyrop, and to give him a free hand in the building of its new town hall and municipal offices. He collected round him all the most promising students from the local art schools, who, under his training and inspiration, carried out most of the decoration of the building. The result has been, not only that Copenhagen, at an expenditure much less than is usually devoted to buildings of its class, has been enriched with a great example of national architecture quite unrivalled in modern Europe, but that the building of it has given an immense impetus to the development of a national school of master-builders and

craftsmen, whose influence can be seen throughout the country in municipal works, post-offices, railway-stations, shops, and even in such purely utilitarian concerns as factories and commercial warehouses, which can also be inspired by artistic intelligence without any of those purely ornamental features popularly associated with "artistic" design.

It would be an immense gain to education in general if art history were taught in all our schools and universities, not as an extra lying outside the average student's work, but as a serious study of the many splendid national artists and craftsmen, whose works might illuminate the pages of the literary historian, and bring vividly before the student's eyes the reality of art as the expression of national life and culture.

Certainly, the British art student, who in his historical studies wanders away to Egypt, Greece, Italy, Japan, or China before his mind is fully saturated with the practical lessons which our own national art history can teach him, is being as much led astray as the Indian student who, being told that Indian art is dead and buried, starts off to Europe to learn the artistic formularies of the West.

Art teaching will once more rest on a sure national foundation when every student takes to heart the words of Kabir, the Indian weaver and mystic :

"The Jewel lay unseen in the mud ; and they have been looking for it in the East and the West, below the waters and underneath the stones. Poor Kabir perceived the diamond ; see, here it is, tied in the garment of my life !"

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.*

By R. E. FORREST.

"STRESS has been laid on important facts only, and many dates and details usually found in histories have been omitted. The early history of England and India has not been touched except in a brief introduction. The story begins with the Tudors in England, the Moghuls in India. Scarcely anything has been said of religious and sectarian struggles and disputes, which have very little meaning, and still less interest, for pupils in Indian schools. On the other hand, the gradual development of the British Empire and its constitution, seldom, if ever, noticed in school histories in India, has been described at some length, and a short account of the rise of the colonies has been attempted. The history of England has not been divided into chapters under the reigns of Kings, as is usually done, but arranged in periods from the point of view of the growth of the Empire. A fairly full account of the progress and advance of India under British rule, and of the present administration of British India, the facts and figures being brought down to date, concludes the volume." Preface.

The writers place the beginning of the British Empire in the Tudor period, that great time of stir and movement, and adventure and discovery, the time of long voyages, of

* "Short History of the British Empire," by Anderson and Marsden (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London).

launching on unknown seas, landing on unknown shores, of making settlements and founding colonies, which have expanded since into widely-extended, densely-populated States, have come to form those "British dominions beyond the seas" of which, together with "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," George V. is, "by the grace of God, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India," as duly set forth in the Royal title. Officially there is no British Empire. The Imperial title is connected, as shown above, only with India. In the Act of Parliament proclaiming and sanctioning the assumption of the new title, it was expressly laid down that the title was not to be used in England in connection with the rest of the English dominions, and it is a question whether the placing of it on the English coinage is not an infringement of the Act. But however all that may be, the voice of the British Empire has proclaimed that as its name, and there it stands, and long may it stand.

By not dealing, not having occasion to deal, with the earliest periods in the history of England or India, the writers have not had to encounter the troubles connected with the disentanglement of the false from the true, of the historical from the fabulous, with the uncertain, often wild, chronology of vapour-shrouded times. Beginning with the Tudors in England, the Moghuls in India, the story moves on along firm continuous eras, the Christian and the Muhamadan. But these are not to be found in Hindu history, if such a thing there be. There could not be any history of the Indian Empire, because that did not exist until we made it. "The complete political unity of India under the control of a paramount power, wielding unquestioned authority, is a thing of yesterday, barely a century old. The most notable of her rulers in the olden time cherished the ambition of universal Indian dominion, and several attained it in a greater or less degree. But not one of them attained it completely" (Vincent Smith). The whole area of the great Peninsula came under English

rule but a very few years—eight or ten—before that rule passed from the hands of the East India Company into the hands of Queen Victoria, and with her assumption of the Imperial title began the Indian Empire, well under a century ago. But in the annals of all the various Indian dynasties and kingdoms of lesser, even when very great, size, there is no such firm walking, very uncertain walking, no historic certainty. Elphinstone said: “No date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander; and no connected relation of the national transactions can be attempted until after the Muhamadan conquest.” And Cowell desired his readers to bear Elphinstone’s saying in mind “through the whole of the Hindu period,” adding: “It is only at those points where other nations came into contact with the Hindus that we are able to settle any details accurately.”

Vincent Smith declares that, while it remains true that “no date in Indian history prior to Alexander’s invasion can be determined with absolute precision, modern research has enabled a considerable number to be fixed with approximate accuracy, sufficient for most purposes, and rendered it practicable to exhibit the results of antiquarian studies in the shape of a ‘connected relation.’” Mr. Smith has essayed to do this in his “Early History of India.” He deserves the highest praise for the attempt, but it cannot be said that it is a successful one. It could not be so, the conditions not permitting, as shown by the book itself. The continued use of qualifying epithet—“probably,” “most probably,” “approximately,” “approximate accuracy,” “reasonable inference,” “apparently,” and so on—in the case of statements of events, of “about” in connection with dates, cast an atmosphere of uncertainty over it. The long periods, extending to several centuries, sometimes ten, of blank darkness, of no available information, which lie between the periods of some light, some information, which Mr. Vincent Smith designates “the fall and the rise of the curtain,” form monstrous breaches of continuity. When there are continuous, reliable annals, there is mere passing

reference to the fact on the ground of "the limited interest of merely local histories." The work of transmuting the results of antiquarian studies into a connected narrative is mainly inferential. These inferences differ—are sometimes directly contradictory. Thus, in Mr. Vincent Smith's "History" we find him defending a statement of his of which Mr. Bevan asserted that it "exceeds what is even probable, not to say proved."

Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler, in his "History of India from the Earliest Ages" (1874), says : "But Sanscrit literature, whether Vedic or Brahmanic, has no historical annals in the modern sense of the word. It is devoid of all real sequence or chronology. It is grievously marred by the introduction of monstrous and supernatural fables, which are revolting to European ideas. At the best it furnishes little more than isolated pictures of the past which have been preserved in the ballads of a semi-barbarous age, and converted by later Brahmanic compilers into vehicles for religious teachings." And, again, ". . . impossible to reduce the varied groups of Hindu traditions into historical form." And yet out of the three first published volumes of his book, which deal exclusively with Hindu history, Mr. Wheeler devotes the two first to the Maha Bharata and Ramayana, or, rather, to "critical analyses" of those long poems, disregarding the objection that these books were not history, on the ground that the Hindus deemed them such—a hardly valid plea. And Mr. Vincent Smith considers the two epics of value as traditional pictures of social life in the heroic age, but not of any historical value.

In this short history of Messrs. Anderson and Marsden the early history of India has not been touched, as stated in the preface, except in a brief introduction, forming a compendium within a compendium. But that brief compendium has been very well done, and contains in its small compass full information—mention of all that is known and accepted or conjectured on the subject. But this is the period with regard to which we have just quoted from the authorities

that it "has no historical annals"; is "devoid of all real sequence or chronology"; that the Sanscrit literature at the best "furnishes little more than isolated pictures of the past." It may be thought that we dwell too much on this matter, considering that in commerce, in manufactures, in the invention of machines, in rule and government, in administration, in town rule, in literature and art, the early history of India has no place in the body proper of the history under review, which begins beyond it, and occupies a few pages only in the introduction. But it stands conspicuous in the book as an inert mass in the midst of the vivid chronicles, a thing mostly of generalities and conjectures, with little of the specific or certain, unrelated to time, dateless, all of which conditions the general reader, unacquainted with the literature of the subject, might set down as due to the want of care or knowledge of the writers, which would be contrary to the fact.

Our historians present us with some of the finest specimens of English writing and some of the worst, due to a straining after effect, to a want of ease, to being pompous, pedantic, rigid. But here there is a fine tale to be told, and it is told well. The style is excellent, fluent, clear, expressive, agreeable. There is no flashy writing, no purple patches, though awakened emotion is expressed with animation. In our liking we feel inclined to say of the style that it moves with the glide of those warships, the swing of that British infantry, which played so great a part in the story.

The different portions of the book are well arranged, so as to maintain the flow of the narrative. It is well supplied with helpful maps. It is vivified by numerous excellent illustrations, portraits, and views of places. Many of these are from rare or original sources, and appear for the first time. Here is Vasco da Gama, with his full beard, his rich suit of armour, his cloak of dignity, his jewelled hat with its flowing feather. Here is an interesting old picture of the Cape of Storms, afterwards Good Hope,

with the little old sailing-vessels, in which so much fine work was done, lying in the offing. Here, at due interval from Vasco da Gama, is Pretorius on horseback, with his shaven chin and whiskers, his trousers and short shooting-jacket and tall beaver hat, his rifle at his thigh and his sword by his side, with a companion picture of "Boers Trekking across the Veldt." Here on opposite pages, in strongest contrast, are Van Tromp with close-cropped head, General Blake with flowing full-bottomed wig, Ignatius Loyola, Archbishop Laud, Queen Elizabeth, the gallant Raleigh, Charles I., Cromwell, George III., Dupleix, Clive. Here is long-bearded Muhammad Ghori, the ruler of Afghanistan, who invaded India not merely to plunder and ravage, and carry back huge stores of gold and silver and precious stones, and captives—men, women, and children—as Mahmud of Ghazni had done seventeen times, but for conquest, and left the Crescent floating over Delhi. Here are Babar and Humayun and Akbar, the last shown in a most interesting picture, seated on a cushion of state, while on the carpet before him are his five great Ministers : Abul Fazl and Tyzec, co-religionists ; Birbal and Man Singh and Todar Mull, Hindus. Here are Jehangir and Nur Jehan, the Light of the World ; Shah Jehan, the Magnificent, with a valuable blend of Turkish and Rajput blood in his veins ; Aurangzeb, the last of the four great Moghuls. Here is tight-turbaned Shivaji, of the tiger-claws, founder of the Mahratta confederacy. Here are Nadir Shah, the Persian monarch, and Ahmad Shah Abdali (rare portraits), who in the eighteen years after 1739 sacked Delhi several times, made its streets run red with the blood of its citizens, removed from the renowned inner palace-fortress all the treasures of the Moghul Kings hoarded in it, and so drained that dynasty of its life-blood. Here is the embarkation of the Pilgrim Fathers ; here is Washington, here Penn. Here are old Bombay, the city of Kabul, Batavia (which should have been ours), the Bank of England, St. Paul's, William Pitt, Warren Hastings,

Bonaparte, Nelson, James Watt, the House of Lords, the House of Commons.

We make the following extracts from different parts of the book.

"There is no reason why every share in every company and every bank in India now held by Europeans should not be bought and held by Indians, if they are willing to spend their money on the purchase of these shares. In this way all the profits on Indian manufactures would be kept in India. The same remark may be made regarding shares in the railways not belonging to the State."

"There is no reason why every rupee of this loan or debt in India, and every pound in England, should not be held by Indians, for the paper is sold in the open market and may be bought by anyone. If this were done, Indians would be paid the interest on India's debt, and the money would stay in the country."

The italics indicate that the writers lay great stress on the value of these suggestions. We cannot endorse that opinion, but have not here the space to argue out the question.

The book is in every way most creditable to the publishers. It is well bound, well printed on a very thin paper that enables its 350 pages to form one single volume, easy to hold, easy to handle. As said before, it is well supplied with maps and illustrations, and both are well printed.

The titles of histories indicate the changes in condition and thought. The old "History of England" has gone, and the titles in vogue are variants on the "A Short History of the English People" of Green's fine work, which marked the prevalence of a new form of thought and sentiment. We ourselves prefer to this the old comprehensive title.

Green says in his preface: "The aim of the following work is defined by its title; it is a history, not of English Kings or English conquests, but of the English people. . .

I have preferred to pass lightly and briefly over the details of foreign wars and diplomacies, the personal adventures of Kings and nobles, the pomp of Courts, or the intrigues of favourites, and to dwell at length on the incidents of that constitutional, intellectual, and social advance in which we read the history of the nation itself."

But this dissociation of the Kings from the People (let us give both capitals) is new ; in the old times the King was the nation, was the people. He was the head of them, their representative, the chief man in things spiritual as well as secular ; he was the chief priest, defender of the faith (a title of our own King, too) ; all power was in his hands, including that of life and death ; he was the fountain of honour and of justice, head of the military forces ; he was the receiver and spender of all the moneys of the State. He was foremost in the three things held to constitute the perfect State—one King, one Faith, one Law. He was the father of his people, looked on as a Divine personage. It was this immemorial feeling toward Royalty, a working of it in the case of all the three who have as yet borne the Imperial title connected with India—Queen Victoria, her son and her grandson, Edward VII. and George V.—because of the special care and interest evinced by all three for India and its people, which produced that extraordinary outburst of emotion on the occasion of Emperor George's great Coronation Durbar, which so astonished many of the Englishmen assembled there, sharers in the new feeling of diminished regard for the holder of the royal office, who were inclined to belittle the value of the English Crown. That nobly-conceived, nobly-carried-out visit of our young monarch to his Indian dominions showed the great value of it to the Empire—to us.

Seeley says : "The first step, then, in arranging and dividing any period of English history is to get rid of such useless headings as Reign of Queen Anne, Reign of George I., Reign of George II. In place of these we must study to put divisions founded upon some real stage of progress in

the national life. We must look onward, not from King to King, but from great event to great event." Certainly, authentic incidents, events, constitute history, are history. History is the recorder of the events of man's existence ; that is its primary, its most important purpose. It is the preserver. It performs the great and most wonderful task of keeping alive the memory of the past, saving it from dread oblivion. But oblivion is the ultimate conqueror ; there is a term to such saving ; all records shrivel up. The history of the greatest nations passes from libraries into a single volume, from a volume to a chapter, a paragraph, a single short sentence, and then the black abyss. But the far-off, unknown ends and beginnings do not concern us. Our concern is primarily with the present ; with the past with reference to the manner in which it has led on to the present ; with the future with reference to the manner in which it is likely to issue from the present. The history of the past serves not only to inform, to delight the men of the present ; it enables them to forecast the future. How should that invaluable record be shaped and presented, how divided into parts ? We see what the writer of "The Expansion of England" says with regard to our own history. His dictum has been accepted as the contemporaneous actual example, already mentioned, of Green has been followed. We think that in all this is the working of the feeling that the noble sentiments of freedom and love of the people were incompatible with any approval of the royal office—a feeling greatly modified by facts in recent times, when the evils of kingship have been got rid of, and its great and unique value come to be understood. No doubt the new modes of writing history are better than the old. But let us consider the dictum about the arranging and dividing of our own history given above. It is not fair to fix on two monarchs so specially circumstanced as George I. and George II., but among our Kings and Queens have been great names as well as small. And who is to settle the real stages of progress

which are to take the place of those names? Are they to be settled by secular or religious considerations? The division of our history by reigns of Kings seems to us a natural one. Such division, and the summing up of reigns into dynasties, has taken place wherever there have been monarchies. It provides a fixed and continuous division, one obviating partisanship, one fixed by an ever-acting and most impartial outside law.

With regard to the proposed division by stages of progress, it is not only that we have to ask, "Who is to make them?" but, "Who is to preserve them?" In our monarchy, with its hereditary succession and tenure for life, the advent of a new King is a matter of supreme importance, one fraught with great good or great ill, a great event, so that looking forward from King to King is really a looking forward from great event to great event. Periods, eras, epochs, are often self-constituted—plain, obvious, absolute, natural divisions. Histories may be, of course, divided according to them also. The form of a history will depend on many conditions: its aim and object; the writer's views and capabilities, on the materials—not only on their quantity, but their authenticity. We would keep the old reign-of-Kings division for the complete and full "History of England," but there is no reason why it should not be told in parts, by eras and epochs, in blocks. It is being so written now, in parts, each part being sometimes put into the hands of a different writer, one specially qualified to deal with it. But in such a case it would be better, we think, to let each part be published as a separate book, not cause all to be put together to form one book; however excellent each part, they would not coalesce and combine to form one great whole: the greater the excellence of each part, the greater its special merits, the greater its individuality, the less would they coalesce and combine, the more would they make worse the breach of continuity which is the evil of this mode of construction. Every great history stands

out by itself and is the work of one man. Every great picture must be drawn by one hand, every great story told by one narrator. But these considerations do not apply to a history of the British Empire. As that political coalition is of an entirely novel character, so must its history be of a new kind too. We have an exemplification of this in the work under review. It is a commingling, in various measure, of the history of the mother-isles, and of the dominions beyond the seas, and of India.

Of the six parts of which this book consists, the narrative occupies four; the fifth part is devoted to the "Progress of India under British Rule," the sixth to the "Administration of the British Empire," nine out of the eleven chapters of which it consists being given to India; these and Part V. are very well done, as was to be expected from the knowledge and capacity of the writers. Chapter v. of Part IV., which is enlivened with a portrait of James Watt, gives an account of "The Industrial Revolution" (that is its title), and does so with a wonderful adequacy in a very few pages: it is a model of compactness and completeness.

We would recommend it to the general public in every part of the British dominions, not only as the source of information of a kind its members should possess, but as affording good reading, as a good piece of literature. We would commend it to the Indian politician. He will see how gradually and slowly and laboriously the Empire was built up. He will see how the dominion of other greater States played its part in that building up; how England gained by foreign rule; how England received from without its religion, its law, its literature, its science, its art, its numerals, and its alphabet. It did not develop along immemorial, indigenous lines.

"CHOKHER BALI."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AS A NOVELIST.

By J. D. ANDERSON.

In the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly* I promised to follow up a brief account of the ancient legend of Sati, as retold by my friend Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, by saying something about an up-to-date tale of modern life in Calcutta. Since Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's charming "Gitanjali" has informed the reading world that Bengal possesses a poet whom so competent a critic as Mr. W. B. Yeats counts among the greatest of his poetical compeers, I cannot do better than introduce the Bengali poet to English readers in another capacity, as a novelist on whom the mantle of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee has fallen, and who wears the novelist's garb with as easy a grace as he dons his singing-robés.

"Chokher Bâli"—"Dust in the Eyes," such is the enigmatical title of a singularly interesting and moving tale. When two young ladies in Bengal, married or unmarried, enter into one of those enthusiastic friendships which are the delightful prerogative of their sex, they adopt a common pet-name, a term of affection, which each uses to the other. There is a little touch of playful satire in the name which Âsâ and Vinodinî assume to mark their undying affection for one another. They are determined to be genially kind—and blind—to one another's little

weaknesses, since even the superior sex is weak at times. A novel would hardly be a novel if there were not a good deal of love-making in it. But the main business of Mr. Tagore's tale is to relate the strain put by untoward circumstances upon the friendship, not only of the two young women who chose to dub one another "Chokher Bāli," but on the lifelong attachment between Rājlakṣmī and Annapūrṇā, between Mahendra and Bihāri. Let me first say who these people are.

Mahendra is the idolized only son of the widowed Rājlakṣmī. Mother and son inhabit an old brick mansion in Calcutta, perhaps in the quarter of Jorasanko, now known to many as containing the town-house of the Tagore family. Mahendra has taken his degree in Arts, and is reading, somewhat fitfully and half-heartedly, for a medical degree, as is his cousin and sole crony, the excellent Bihāri, who lives hard by, orphaned of both parents, and schooled by early bereavement to be one of the most unselfish of men. Another neighbour, close friend and contemporary of Rājlakṣmī, is her sister-in-law, Annapūrṇā, herself a widow, with the additional grief and shame of being a childless widow. Both the old ladies spoil the two lads; both regard Bihāri as a mere adjunct to the more brilliant and plausible Mahendra. As time goes by, Rājlakṣmī awakes to the fact, shocking to her old-fashioned ideas, that her son is still a bachelor. She offers to procure him a bride, but he laughs, and says he wants no one to take the place of his mother in his home and heart. The old lady is pleased and flattered, but admits that she is thinking of a particular young lady, a charming distant relative named Vinodinī, who is not only beautiful and virtuous, but, having been educated by an English missionary lady, shares the modern ideas, on social and other matters, of Mahendra, who prides himself on his emancipation, and is, in truth, a very conceited young fellow, as how could he very well be otherwise? Mahendra consents; overtures are made; the very wedding-day is fixed, when, to the

horror and despair of his mother, the spoiled darling refuses to undergo the risks of matrimony. He has his way, of course, and Rājlakṣmī is compelled to find another husband for her charming young relative. Her new choice is an unfortunate one. Vinodinī's husband is a weakly stripling, who dies of malarious fever before the girl has settled down to domestic joys. Hearing this piece of news, the careless Mahendra only laughs. "Just as well you did not marry me," he says to his mother, "to one who was destined to become a widow. A born widow's husband never lives long!" The boy is incorrigibly careless and selfish, but his mother puts his aversion from matrimony to the credit of his filial affection. Meanwhile his aunt reproaches Rājlakṣmī with weak submission to her son's wayward will, and the mother sends her away weeping at the cruel suggestion that a childless widow cannot possibly know anything about the relations between mother and son. Mahendra, good-natured, as all really selfish people are, hastens after his aunt, and endeavours to console her. A happy thought occurs to him. Annapūrṇā has a niece in the country, young, charming, marriageable—indeed, beyond the old orthodox age of marriage. Why shouldn't the excellent, the biddable Bihāri marry this niece? The two friends shall go together to be introduced to the girl, and make a formal proposal for her hand to the rich old uncle in whose house she is a humble dependent. Annapūrṇā consents, though she doubts whether poor Bihāri is worthy of so sweet a girl as she knows her niece to be. The two friends hasten down to the country. Significant detail—Mahendra is dressed in all his best, curled and perfumed, a buck of baboos! Bihāri has put himself to no expense of time or trouble to make a favourable impression.

The girl is all, and more than all, that her old aunt's description promised. Both lads admire her. Mahendra determines to marry her. Of course he has no difficulty in talking over his adoring mother. The marriage takes place; the girl comes to her new home, and endeavours,

though she is past the age at which such learning comes easily, to acquire the arts of housekeeping from her mother-in-law. But Mahendra wants his new toy all to himself. Her literary education has been grossly neglected. He will teach her to read and write. He will make her a fit companion for an educated gentleman of modern times.

In fact, however, Mahendra is selfishly, fatuously in love with his pretty little wife. He forgets his duties to his mother, forgets his medical studies, and wastes his own time and that of his devoted and loving little spouse in uxorious philanderings. His mother is angry and disappointed. She vents her disappointment on her old friend Annapūrṇā, who was the cause of what seems to the mother an unsuitable match for her paragon. While the young couple are absorbed in one another's society, the old lady slaves and toils in eager desire to show that she at least does not neglect her plain duty. But old age, the pangs of thwarted maternal affection, and overwork, tell upon her health. Her daughter-in-law, loving, willing, obedient though she be, is utterly useless. Her husband's attempt to educate her in books has been the merest pretence, a simple excuse for perpetual and cloying amorousness. She is the most devoted of wives, but is a mere child in mind and speech. Annapūrṇā, finding that her presence only adds to the friction between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, has departed to Benares, after the manner of pious Hindoo widows, to await the kind coming of dissolution in the holiest of Hindoo places of pilgrimage. In despair, Rājlakṣmī sends for the widowed Vinodinī, who at once makes herself useful, makes herself indispensable. She is all that poor little Āśā is not. She is fitted to be the intellectual equal and companion of the two young men; she is as skilful in household management and cookery as Rājlakṣmī herself. She wins all hearts, from the mistress down to the porter in the lodge at the gates of the "compound." Inexperienced little Āśā is at first afraid of this brilliant and fascinating being, and

uncomfortably aware of her own inferiority. But Vinodinī is skilled in winning hearts much more obdurate than the simple affections of her cousin. Soon the two girls are fast friends, and Āśā is so infatuated that she wishes her husband to share her joy in the society of so accomplished and amiable a friend. Vinodinī thoroughly enjoys the amenities of a great house in Calcutta, a striking contrast to the poverty-stricken existence of a penniless widow in a little Bengali village. She is secretly determined to make herself indispensable to Mahendra also, but, partly as a matter of tactics, partly from real modesty, resists Āśā's attempts to bring her friend and her husband together. Mahendra, too, professes a fine indifference, but is secretly anxious to make the acquaintance of one whose praises, wife and mother alike, are perpetually dinging into his ears. But he has a high opinion of his own dignity, of his own virtue, and willingly waits to be pressed. Foolish little Āśā presses him with girlish impatience. Why should he not enjoy the friendship of so charming a person? No doubt of his loyalty so much as enters her simple mind. She inveigles Vinodinī into her room, and arranges that her husband shall enter suddenly, as though in search of a book. The two meet, and, to Āśā's delight, evidently admire one another's qualities. Other meetings occur, and in time the fickle, selfish, spoiled Mahendra transfers his affections from his kind, foolish little wife to her accomplished and lovely companion. Bihāri, most faithful and unselfish of friends, sees trouble ahead. He finds the trio together, and does not hide his disapproval. Mahendra, conscious of his own weakness, angry with himself for his indulgence in his growing passion, vents his anger on his friend. In presence of the two girls, he charges the faithful Bihāri with an unlawful love for his wife. Āśā is cut to the quick by an accusation so shocking to her devotion, to her innate modesty. Vinodinī despises Mahendra for his want of dignity and self-control. Bihāri departs indignantly, and, in the silence of his own bachelor lodging,

comes to the reluctant conclusion that, all unknowingly, he has in fact loved his friend's wife since the day the two lads went to seek her hand. He is in despair at the thought of his own weakness. He feels that he is no longer in a position to reproach or interfere.

Vinodini becomes more and more important in a household into which she has brought discord and misery. She is curiously divided in mind. She remembers that, but for Mahendra's selfish folly, she might have been his wife, might have been the unquestioned mistress of the luxurious home, where she feels that she is in her right place. Who is this foolish, clinging little Asā that she should have all the joys and luxuries of life, while she herself, clever and learned and beautiful, has only the sad and joyless lot of a Hindoo widow? She drifts with the stream; she waits to see what will happen; she uses, half unconsciously, all her woman's arts to fan the flame of Mahendra's fickle passion.

But she is not all bad, because she is no fool. She compares the two young men. She knows that circumstances have made Bihāri much the better man. He is capable of a true and lasting affection. He is loyal; he is unselfish; he is generous; while Mahendra, once capable of all these virtues, has been ruined by the unthinking indulgence of his mother and aunt. Vinodini, in our European phrase, flirts vigorously with her host, but has no intention whatever of becoming a victim to his desires. Asā, in much distress of mind, goes on a visit to her aunt at Benares, and Mahendra seizes the occasion to lay a more determined siege to Vinodini, who, puzzled and perplexed, seeks refuge with the excellent Bihāri. Here at least is a man—strong, kind, resourceful.

The friendless, widowed girl appeals to his compassion, falls at his feet, shows him frankly that she can, that she does love him. The solitary bachelor, deprived of the friendship which has been a life-long habit and solace to him, robbed of the maternal affection of the two kind old ladies who loved, if they somewhat despised, him, is sorely tempted

by the charm and the desperate self-abandonment of the beautiful creature before him. But he is too good and too wise to take advantage of her despair. He urges and persuades her to return to her native village.

In her humble home she suffers many mortifications. By this time her admiration for Bihāri has ripened into a warmer feeling. He has promised to write to her, and in her impatience she scandalizes the village gossips by openly asking the postman if he has not letters for her—love-letters, —letters from a man! To make matters worse, Mahendra, now beside himself with passion, discovers her retreat and comes in search of her. She is in no mood to receive his advances; she tells him frankly that she hates and despises him. But his visit has made it impossible for her to remain any longer in her native village—the scandal is too open. Reluctantly she accompanies him back to Calcutta, and allows him to engage a lodging for her. Mahendra persecutes her with his addresses; she resolutely repels him. But she is in a cruelly difficult position. She has alienated all her friends. The good Annapūrṇā is in Benares, Rājlakṣmī and Aśā have no reason to love her. Her one hope is in Bihāri. Her womanly instinct tells her that her impassioned appeal to his charity and kindness has moved his heart. But Bihāri, seeing no hope of being of use to his friends, is travelling in the north-west, trying to distract his anxious thoughts by change of scene.

Meanwhile Rājlakṣmī, worn out with so many anxieties, disappointments, tribulations, has fallen seriously ill. Her son cannot wholly neglect her, and sees that his wife is useless in such a case. The good Annapūrṇā returns from Benares to sit by her dying friend's bedside. In her kind hands, Aśā at last finds the maternal guidance and support she has all along lacked. She becomes by degrees the tenderest of nurses, the most admirable of little housewives. If only her husband could return to her, if only he could give her his love again, she might almost be happy.

In the meantime Vinodinī has persuaded Mahendra to

take her away from Calcutta on a journey to Allahabad and other places of interest. Mahendra consents, in the hope that she will at last yield to his passion. But the girl's sole motive is the hope that they may stumble up against Bihāri. She insists on travelling in the railway carriages reserved for women. She makes friends with her fellow-passengers.

With her vigorous will she completely subjugates and dominates the weak and selfish Mahendra. By an accident she discovers Bihāri's address, and compels Mahendra to go thither, without telling him why. When the pair arrive at Bihāri's temporary home on the banks of the Jumna, he has returned to Calcutta. But Vinodinī persuades Mahendra to hire the empty apartments. He is sick of aimless wanderings. He gladly consents. But he is not a whit advanced towards the accomplishment of his desires. Vinodinī treats him with bitter scorn, holds him resolutely at arm's length, and waits confidently for the return of Bihāri. In due course Bihāri returns. He supposes, of course, that Vinodinī is his friend's mistress. But (Mahendra being absent) the girl convinces Bihāri that she has accompanied Mahendra merely because no other course was open to her. Bihāri learns, with shamefaced pleasure, that the beautiful girl loves him, and has been waiting for him with an impatience heightened by Mahendra's unwelcome and repulsed addresses. At this moment Mahendra arrives. He has suspected all the while that Vinodinī's cruelty to him was caused by her love for his friend. He charges the pair with a secret understanding, with disloyalty, with fraud. Bihāri declares that he will make Vinodinī his wife, and bids Mahendra return to his dying mother, to a wife who has not ceased to love him, in spite of his cowardly betrayal of her girlish confidence.

Mahendra returns to Calcutta, a broken and disappointed man. He has lost his old eager self-confidence, his foolish belief that he was better, more lovable, more irresistible, than other men. Bihāri and Vinodinī follow him, and the whole party meet round the bed of the dying mother, at

whose prayer Āśā and Mahendra are reconciled. It is a new, a wiser little Āśā who now takes charge of a weak and wilful husband, and there is some hope that she may yet be able to make a man of him. After Rājlakṣmī's death, Bihāri presses Vinodinī to share his fortunes and be his wife. But Vinodinī, too, has been through the school of misfortune. She loves Bihāri, and knows that her affection is returned. But she has been the object of scandal, and if Bihāri were to marry her he would lose his friends and influence, would be forced to abandon the philanthropic schemes in which the generous fellow is engaged. Reluctantly yet resolutely she accompanies Annapūrṇā to Benares, to spend her life in tending the kind old lady's declining days. And the book closes with her parting words to the one man she has ever really loved and respected, a prayer that he may be happy without her, that he may forget and forgive her. "Bhagavān tomāder cirasukhī karun!"

Such is a very brief and rough summary of the matter of 310 closely-printed pages. Such a summary can, of course, give no idea of the vigour and rapidity of a narrative which is full of pathos, humour, and sustained interest. Perhaps I may here be allowed to attempt a translation of a small portion of the tale to supplement the defects of my too hurried paraphrase. Mahendra has just returned to his home after his escapade.

Mahendra was about to enter his mother's chamber, when Āśā came out hurriedly and said : " You must not go in there now ! "

" Why ? " asked Mahendra.

" Because the doctor says that any sudden excitement of grief or joy may be very bad for her."

" May I not go in on tiptoe, just to have a look at her ? I shall not let her know I am there."

" No, " replied Āśā sturdily ; " she starts at the slightest sound. She will know the moment you put your foot inside the door."

"What do you want me to do, then?"

"You must wait till Bihāri returns. Let him see her first, and then we will be guided by his advice."

Meanwhile Bihāri himself arrived, and Aśā sent a servant to fetch him to the sick-chamber.

"Well," said the new-comer cheerfully, "here I am. How is my aunt?"

At sight of him Aśā felt that she had obtained a real prop and support. "It seems to me," she said, "that mother has been curiously restless since you went away. The first day she missed you, and asked me where you had gone. I said you had gone away on pressing business, and would be back by Thursday. Ever since then she has been starting at every sound, as if she were expecting someone. She says nothing, but I know. Yesterday, when I got your telegram, I told her you would come to-day. She said we were to make special arrangements for your food. We were to get all the things she knows you like. We were to put a stove in the veranda of her room, so that she might watch the preparations as she lay in bed. The doctor said no, but she would not listen. Just now she called me to her, and said that I was to do all the cooking with my own hand, as she was determined that you should have your dinner once more in her presence, as in the old days."

His eyes filled with tears. "How is she?" he asked.

"Come and see for yourself," she replied; "I am afraid she is very ill."

Bihāri entered the sick-chamber. Mahendra was left standing outside. He was astonished. Could this be his foolish little Aśā? How quietly and resolutely she ruled the house, how undauntedly she had denied him permission to see his mother! She showed no sign of the old girlish bashfulness and submission. Ah, how completely his old influence over her had vanished! He was now the guilty one. He it was who stood a suppliant at the door—at the door of his own dying mother's chamber.

And then, again, with what gentle confidence she addressed Bihāri! It was he whom she consulted, not her own husband! It was he who was now the prop of the household, the friend of all its members! His influence was everywhere ; it was by his advice that all was done. It seemed but a short time since Mahendra had left the place which was once his—and yet how great a change since he had deserted his trust!

As Bihāri entered the room, the dying woman looked at him with wistful, eager gaze.

“ You have come back, Bihāri ?” she said.

“ Yes, mother,” he replied, “ I have come back.”

It was with a keen, questioning look that she went on :

“ And have you finished that important business of yours ?”

“ Yes, mother,” he replied readily, “ my business has been quite successfully performed. I have no longer any anxiety.” So saying, he looked significantly at the door.

“ My little Āśā has been preparing a meal for you with her own hands, for you are to feast before me just once more, my dear. The doctor forbade me, but I am past the orders of doctors now. I must see my dear take his meal once more in the old way.”

Bihāri replied gravely : “ I don't see why the doctor should interfere ! How is the cooking to be done properly if you do not supervise ? Ever since I was a little boy, I have learnt to think that there is no cooking like yours. And look, mother, I have brought your Mahendra back with me. He is tired of the pulse and unleavened bread they eat in the West Country. Think how glad he will be to get a sup of your delicious broth ! Let us two brothers sit side by side, cheek by jowl, in the old way, and then the only question will be whether your Āśā has cooked enough food for the pair of us !”

Of course the mother's heart had guessed that Bihāri had brought her prodigal son back to her. Yet the mention of his name so agitated her that her palpitations

returned. When she had recovered a little, Bihāri went on :

"It's surprising how much good the change of scene has done to Mahendra. You may think he looks a little pulled down, but that is only the fatigue of the journey. He will be all right when he has bathed and dined."

Still the mother had not mentioned her son's name. Finally Bihāri said : "Mother, Mahendra is waiting outside. He cannot come in unless you send for him."

Still not a word, but the wan eyes glanced eagerly towards the door.

That was enough for Bihāri. "Come in!" he cried hastily.

Mahendra entered the room very gently. Even then his mother did not dare to look at him, for fear her heart should again begin its throbbing. She lay with half-closed eyes. Mahendra looked at the prostrate form, and started as though someone had struck him. He went quietly to the foot of the bed. He knelt, and put his head on his mother's feet. He could feel her worn body agitated with her sobs.

A long time passed in silence, and then Annapūrṇā said :

"Sister, tell Mahendra that he must get up. He cannot move unless you tell him."

The dying woman whispered painfully : "My boy, get up."

At the sound of his name from her lips, at last the tears came to the eyes that had been so dusty dry all these months. As he wept it seemed that the pain at his heart grew lighter. He came and knelt by his mother's side. She turned towards him—oh, so slowly and painfully! She raised her thin weak hands, she held her son's head between them. She kissed his forehead. Mahendra stifled a sob, as with broken voice he said :

"Mother dearest, I have given you much pain. Can you forgive me?"

The words brought on a fresh crisis. When the pain was a little quieted, the mother said : "Ah, my son, what is

a mother meant for, but to forgive? Āśā, my dear!
Where is Āśā gone?"

Āśā was preparing food for the invalid in an adjoining room.

Annapūrṇā went and fetched her.

The sick woman motioned to her son to take his seat on the edge of her bed. When he had obeyed, Rājlakṣmī pointed to the empty place by his side, and said:

"Sit you here, Āśā, my child. If only I can see you two seated side by side again, all my troubles will be wiped out. Nay, my daughter, this is no time for shame, though I am your old mother. Make an old woman happy by letting her see her son and daughter sitting together once more."

Āśā came, trembling and closely veiled, and took her seat with panting bosom by her husband's side. Taking their right hands, Rājlakṣmī joined them in her own feeble grasp.

"Mahendra," she said, "I am content to go, now that I have brought you two together. When I am gone, remember that the whole world contains no better or sweeter woman than your wife. Come, Annapūrṇā, give these two children your blessing. May the blessing of a good woman bring them happiness!"

As Annapūrṇā stood before them, the reconciled pair stooped to touch her feet in token of reverence. The kind old woman bent and kissed the head of each as she murmured: "May Almighty God have you in His holy keeping!"

I am conscious that this is but a rough rendering of a poet's prose, and it needs some daring to attempt a translation of the work of one who can put his own verses into English which has almost all the charm of the original. Once more, a translator's work must be read with sympathetic indulgence, especially when the translation is from a language full of Hindoo allusiveness, into one whose inspiration is, I suppose, chiefly Biblical. I do not pretend that my version retains any reflection of the simple charm

of style of the original. But it may serve to show in what fashion Mr. Tagore deals with the pathos of life and death, common to all humanity in East and West. He is not less a master of quiet and unforced humour. I must not take leave of him without informing English admirers of his "Gitanjali" that he is considered in India to be as great a master of the short story as Guy de Maupassant himself. A musician, a critic, an essayist, a poet, a dramatist, a novelist, a philosopher, a grammarian, he is also, as his poems show, a mystic, filled with a strong sense of the riddle of life. Mr. Tagore has as various a genius as a Voltaire or a Goethe. How far he has succeeded in his many literary endeavours, it will be for posterity—in his own country—to decide. Meanwhile it behoves us Westerns to admit that we possess no writer so prolific, so multifarious, so ingenious, and so original. No wonder his country is proud of him, no wonder Bengalis are surprised to find that his fame has only recently, and as if by accident, crossed the seas, and won the suffrages of our incurious and busy Europe.

POSTSCRIPT.—Mr. Tagore tells me that I have missed the point of the playful nickname which Vinodinî and her friend gave one another. "Dust in the eyes" is not merely blinding but painful, and the two girls spoke of one another with mock petulance; called one another "Little Nuisance" as it were, hiding their affection under a term of simulated reproach. The correction is worth making, since the real sense of the epithet implies a touch of "tragic irony," a half-conscious anticipation of the fact that Āśā's "own familiar friend" was destined to cause her much grief, and so, incidentally, to give her character the purification of pain which was needed to turn the simple girl into a true helpmeet for her weak and wayward husband.

ENGLISH AUTHORS AND ORIENTAL ORTHOGRAPHY.

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

THE war in the Balkans has revived interest in the question of the transliteration of Oriental proper and place-names, and renewed the controversy between the literary and the phonetic methods. Should the titles of Khoja and Khanum be written as they are spelt, or Hoja and Hanum, as they are pronounced? Is a Frenchman justified in writing of the order of the Medjidieh and of Djevad Bey? The German still more ponderously employs four letters to represent the sound of a single Turkish one, and calls a Jama'at, or congregation, a Dschem'aat, and spells the name of the Dobruja district as Dobrudscha. English chroniclers and cartographers faithfully copy these absurdities. Sir Edward Creasy, in his history of the Ottoman Turks, followed Ranke in writing the Turkish title of Dai, commonly called Dey in English, as Dahi, though there is no H in the Turkish word.

Our ancestors were accustomed to strange travesties of Oriental names, calling Muhammad Mahound, and Togh-rul Bey Tangrolipix; and mediæval scholars were wont to Latinize them, making Ahmad into Achomates, Selim into Selymus, and Toman Bey into Tomobeius, and so forth. Classical conventions governed the world of literature, and the poet Drayton's ode on the "Victory of the

Poles over the Turkish Emperor Othman in the Dacian Battle" reproduces the conditions of a combat between the Greeks and Trojans under the walls of Troy.

In Marlowe's "Tamburlaine," and in Dryden's "Aurengzebe," as well as in Collins's "Eastern Eclogues," the characters are European men and women masquerading in an Oriental dress and fictitious Oriental names. Lord Byron was the first English poet to sound the call of the East in the ears of the West; and he and Thomas Moore captivated the taste of the British literary public with Oriental imagery and Eastern scenery more than a century ago, though Sir Edwin Arnold, Sir Alfred Lyall, and Mr. Rudyard Kipling, have in our own day presented us with pictures of Asiatic life and thought less romantic and more realistic.

Byron had dipped his hand in the same dish with some of the greatest ruffians in the Levant, and had caught some inspiration from the spirit of Islam. His description of the vision of Paradise beheld by the dying Ghazi in "Don Juan" is as vivid as the faith of the fanatic whom it describes, joyfully rushing to death upon the Russian bayonets :

"So fully flashed the phantom on his eyes
That when the steel was in his very heart,
He shouted 'Allah!' and saw Paradise
With all its veil of mystery drawn apart :
Priests, prophets, Houris, angels, saints, described
In one voluptuous blaze ; and then he died."

He was the first to introduce the fashion of interlarding English verse with Oriental words, a fashion ingeniously parodied in the "Bon Gaultier" ballad, commencing with the lines :

"The Minarets wave on the plain of Stamboul,
And the breeze of the evening blows freshly and cool."

Byron's extensive use of Oriental phraseology is generally correct, and it was natural that he, with his Venetian experiences, should Italianize the spelling of the Musalman

name Ja'afar in the lines commencing "The Bride of Abydos":

" Begirt with many a gallant slave,
Apparelled as becomes the brave,
Old Giaffir sits in his Divan."

Later, in the same poem, the gallant slaves are classified as "Mangrabees" and "Mameluke," the former being described in a note as "a Moorish mercenary." Maghrabi would have been a more correct way of spelling it, the Moors being known to the Turks and Arabs as Maghrabis, or "Westerns." In the same poem the Turkish funeral dirge is called "the loud Wul-wulleh"; this is, of course, the cry of Wa All'ah, which is ever on the lips of pious Muslims proclaiming the presence of the Almighty. Selim, the youthful hero of the tale, is a young Turk of the present day brought into existence by his creator just a century too soon. This may perhaps be taken as a striking proof of the poet's prescience.

But in his poem of "The Giaour" (written "Gaur" in Turkish, and pronounced "Giaur") he speaks of "pale Phingari's trembling light." Where did he get this strange word "Phingari" from, and in what language under the sun is the moon called "Phingari"? In the same poem, describing the scene of the death of Black Hassan, he says :

"A stain on every bush that bore
A fragment of his palampore."

"Palampore" is neither a Turkish garment nor a Turkish word, and Byron must have borrowed an Anglo-Indian word for the sake of a convenient rhyme.

"Palampore" is one of those strange Anglo-Indian words, like Pagoda, Compound, etc., which are by Europeans supposed to belong to some native language, and are by natives supposed to be of European origin. It means a quilt or coverlet, and has been conjectured to be a corruption of the Persian "Palang-posh" (a bed-covering). Whence Byron got it no one can say; but he wanted a rhyme, and he was

not the man to stick at trifles. He thought nothing of adding an extra syllable to an Oriental word when the rhythm required it, as in the line,

“To-night set Ramazani’s sun ;”

or of cutting off a syllable to make a line scan, as in “The Siege of Corinth”:

“Forms in his phalanx each Janizar.”

Moore, in his poetical romance of “Lalla Rookh” (“Lala Rukh,” or “Tulip Face”) displays a truly marvellous acquaintance with Oriental and Musalman historical and legendary lore; but he has also committed some glaring solecisms. In his “Fire-worshippers” he has given the Arabic name of Hafed to the Persian hero, the chief of the Ghebers or “Fire-worshippers.” Hafed, more familiar to Europeans under the form of Hafiz, is a title given to a man who has committed the Koran to memory, and is singularly inapposite when applied to an arch-enemy of Islam. The Persian word Geber, by-the-by, signifying “an infidel,” has no H in it, either written or sounded. It is more correctly transliterated as Gabr.

The name of Aliris, King of the lesser Bucharia (Kashgar and Yarkand), the prospective husband of Lala Rukh, is perhaps intended for Ali Rais. In “Paradise and the Peri,” Moore writes of

“The diamond turrets of Shadukiam
And the fragrant bowers of Amberabad.”

The derivation of the latter name is obvious; the former is probably meant for “Shád o Qiám” (joy and repose).

In the same poem, describing Mahmud of Ghazni’s invasion of India, he says :

“His bloodhounds he adorns with gems,
Torn from the violated necks
Of many a young and loved Sultana.”

The title of Sultana is of European coinage. Sultan has no feminine in the language of the East. And the Princesses whose necks were violated by the Muhammadan invaders must have been Hindus, and could not, therefore, be correctly styled by the Musalman title of Sultana. Further on, in describing a moonlit scene on the Nile, the poet writes of

" Some purple-winged Sultana, sitting
Upon a column, motionless,
And glittering like an idol bird."

The Sultana bird seems to be purely a creation of Moore's poetic fancy, and as imaginary as the sleeping albatross which he describes as being awakened by striking its wing against the battlement of the Gheber's watch-tower on the shores of the Gulf of Persia, oblivious of the fact that the albatross is not found north of the Equator. Equally imaginative was James Montgomery's picture of the same region :

" By the Gulf of Persia sail,
Where the lovelorn nightingale
Woes the rose in every vale."

The visitor to these arid and barren shores will be much disappointed if he takes the poet for a guide.

In the story of the "Veiled Prophet of Khorasan," Moore has perpetrated one or two historical anachronisms which only serve to throw into relief his general accuracy. Speaking of Greece, he says that the Saracen soldier of the Caliphate

" Has faced her phalanx armed with all its fame,
Her Macedonian pikes and globes of flame."

The Grecian phalanx and the Macedonian *sarissae* were out of date by some centuries before the Greek fire was invented, but the formations and equipment of the Byzantine armies are sufficiently doubtful to allow much room for

poetic license. And when Moore enumerates among the followers of the Veiled Prophet

“ . . . Chiefs of the Uzbek race
Waving their heron crests with martial grace,”

he antedates the coming of the Uzbeks into Central Asia and their first mention in history by some five centuries.

Browning has perpetrated more glaring anachronisms in his poem of the “Pied Piper of Hamelin”—perhaps ignorant of them himself, perhaps confident of the ignorance of his readers and critics. He states that the time of the visit of the Piper to Hamelin was

“ Almost five hundred years ago ;”

and then relates how that worthy was bound for Baghdad to receive his reward,

“ For having left in the Caliph’s kitchen
Of a nest of scorpions no survivor.”

Now, there was no Caliphate at Baghdad five hundred years before the poem was written, for it had been destroyed early in the thirteenth century by Hulaku Khan and his Mongols.

Again, in his speech to the Mayor and Corporation, the Piper is made to say :

“ In Tartary I freed the Cham
Last year from his huge swarms of gnats.
I eased in Asia the Nizam
Of a monstrous brood of vampire bats.”

Now the title of Nizam is quite of modern invention and there was no potentate using that appellation in Asia before the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Viceroyalty of the great Southern province of the Mogul Empire of India became hereditary in the family of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

THE SILENT WAR IN FORMOSA.

By SHINJI ISHII.

THE conception of so-called primitive people with regard to the earth is totally different from that of their civilized neighbours. The former regard the soil with something akin to reverence, as their lives depend on such products as Mother Earth can supply, who is, they believe, protected by the spirits of their ancestors. The wild head-hunters of North Formosa, who are now offering a stubborn resistance to the intrusion of Japanese civilization, are no exception to these general rules. Some time ago, when Count Sakuma, the Governor-General of Formosa, paid a visit to the territory inhabited by the Taiyal head-hunters, one of the chiefs of the tribe declared arrogantly that "the Chinese have ceded our territory to you without our knowledge, and no Japanese shall be allowed to step inside our own land."

These wild men, whose every-day life is shrouded and guided by various forms of superstitions, are apt to attribute the ravages of nature, whenever they occur, to human agency. If by chance they discover any intruder in their land, be it a Chinese camphor-worker or a Japanese policeman sent thither on duty, the fate of such a one is sealed, for he is surely waylaid by the savages, and his head cut off. With this trophy thus secured, the wild men hasten to their tribe, and hold a feast to appease the agony suffered by the spirits of their ancestors. This is one of the principal

causes of the head-hunting reported in the island from day to day.

The Chinese settlers in Formosa, who now number nearly three millions, contrived various means, during their occupation of two and a half centuries, to develop the rich savage territory, where the production of camphor ranks foremost. The Chinese, whose racial energy as suckers of the soil is famous, denuded the mountainous districts of their home land. In Formosa, too, whenever they came in touch with arable soil covered with virgin forest, this was entirely cleared, and in the course of a few years not even a bush or shrub remained. The following methods have been usually employed by them, as most expedient in acquiring savage territory.

They have drawn up an agreement with the head man of a tribe for a lease of land, with a promise to pay compensation annually in the form of a number of pigs or water buffaloes. But after a lapse of time, when the clever Chinese have recognized that they have retained a sufficient foothold, they have suddenly risen and driven the awe-stricken savages into the interior.

In another case they will invite a crowd of wild men to a grand feast, under the pretext of making a compact with them, on which occasion rice wine is liberally supplied. When the innocent savages are sufficiently drunk, it is an easy job to perform an onslaught. The more resourceful Chinaman will marry a number of savage wives from different tribes, with more than one object in view. By his making a marriage tie with the wild community, danger of attack on his own person will be averted, and easy access be afforded him to the interior. Also under the matrimonial condition of society which prevails in most of the Formosan tribes, the Chinese husband must find an easy opportunity of absorbing the property belonging to his savage wife. In addition to this, the woman savage, as a tiller of the soil, is more useful to him than her small-footed Chinese sisters.

Indeed, the Chinese record of contact with savages, during

their occupation, is full of accounts of massacres, and subsequent revenges on both sides. Some of the enlightened Chinese governors established a school for the training of savage children in different places, but most of the time was taken up in organizing punitive expeditions. In a locality of access, the Chinese were more or less successful. But in inaccessible mountainous districts, covered with thick subtropical forests, such sorties in nearly every case were a failure.

Near an inlet, called Dainano, on the east coast of Formosa, the Chinese met with a most disastrous defeat in the expedition of 1889, in which nearly 1,000 soldiers were killed by the counter attacks of the savages. The famous high cliff, which is described by Guillemard* as one of the highest and most magnificent cliffs in the world, commences a little further down south of this inlet.

A number of small tribes, which are scattered in this part of the island, are well protected ; in front by the high cliff, and at the back enclosed by a towering central mountain range, in which, still unexplored, Mount Sylvia claims a height of 12,000 feet. Among them, the Tarukos, who have the regular feature, long nose, and fair complexion characteristic of the pre-Malay, or Indonesian, are famous for their intrepid spirit. They have never been beaten under the Chinese régime, and still boast to-day of their perfect independence. It is very likely that this tribe, thus protected by natural strongholds, will make a last stand against the march of Japanese civilization.

It might probably interest English readers to state here that one of their people tried to establish a small colony in the valley which stretches back from the above inlet, some two decades before the Chinese suffered their greatest loss. A certain Mr. Horn, an English adventurer, sent by the West to the East in the early eighties, arrived at Formosa in the course of his wandering life. At the port of Suoo, which was a newly-established Chinese colony on the north-

* F. H. H. Guillemard : "The Cruise of the *Marchesa*," vol. i., 1886.

east coast, Horn actually saw and realized that the gentle and hard-working Peipohuans (domesticated savages), the original owners of the land, were persecuted and ill-treated by the new-comers. This cruel action of the Chinese towards a weak and defenceless population aroused a strong sympathy in his mind. He accordingly drafted a scheme for the protection of these innocent people, by establishing a small colony, and a site was selected in the valley referred to above.

Thither Horn and a number of his faithful followers went in 1868. But soon after, his benevolent work suffered a reverse. An English gunboat appeared on the scene, as a result of protest on the part of the Chinese authorities. Horn was given but a short time to get together his private possessions, and was ordered to leave the place immediately. He promised to comply with the demand.

This happened during the stormy season, when the seas that swept the north-east coast of the island are extraordinarily rough. Horn, however, kept his word. He waited for safe weather until the last day of the time limit had expired, and then departed with some thirty of his most faithful friends—whom he did not desert, even at the last—aboard a small schooner. It was his intention to sail to Suoo, but his vessel could not beat up against a fierce northern gale, and was consequently driven to the south of the island, where it was wrecked, and the few grief stricken Peipohuans who survived, brought to the foreigners in the south the news of the death of some twenty persons, among whom they counted their white friend and protector, Horn.

It has been very often stated by foreign visitors,* judging from the gruesome aspect presented by the skull-shelf which is one of the prominent decorations or sacred exhibitions in many savage villages, that the wild people of Formosa are cannibals. This has been intensified by a belief that many wrecked foreigners had fallen victims to the cruelty of

* J. Thomson: "The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China, and China," 1875.

turbulent aborigines, who infested the southernmost part of the island in the latter part of the last century.

Among Ami tribes on the east coast it is stated as traditional—going back several generations—that some of their ancestors committed anthropophagy. But during my fifteen years' residence in Formosa, I have never witnessed or been informed of any actual case of cannibalism perpetrated by the savages, while their civilized Chinese neighbours, whose superstition in certain matters is far more deeply rooted, still occasionally practise the barbarous custom.

Davidson states that: "After killing a savage, the head was generally severed from the body, and exhibited to those who were not at hand to witness the prior display of slaughter and mutilation. The body was then either divided among its captors and eaten, or sold to wealthy Chinese, and even to high officials, who disposed of it in a like manner. The kidney, liver, heart, and soles of the feet were considered the most desirable portions, and were ordinarily cut up into very small pieces, boiled, and eaten somewhat in the form of soup. The flesh and bones were boiled, and the former made into a sort of jelly. The Chinese profess to believe, in accordance with an old superstition, that the eating of savage flesh will give them strength and courage. To some this may appear as a partial excuse for this horrible custom; but even that falls through, if one stops to think that superstitious beliefs are at the bottom of cannibalism as practised by the most savage tribes of the world. During the outbreak of 1881, savage flesh was brought in in baskets, much as pork might be, and sold like pork in the open markets of Tokoham before the eyes of all, foreigners included. Some of the flesh was even sent to Amoy, to be placed on sale there. It was frequently on sale in the small Chinese villages near the border, and often before the very eyes of peaceful groups of savages, who happened to be at the place. The savages, bad as they may be, are not cannibals, and though the

victim's head is severed from the body, it is carried as a certificate of the warrior's prowess, and the body remains untouched where it falls."

An actual case occurred as recently as November, 1911. A cottage occupied by the Chinese coolies, who were employed in the camphor-stills situated among the thick jungles in the north-eastern savage country, was one night raided by a party of the head-hunters. Fortunately, the Chinese were able to foresee the danger, and prepared accordingly. When the savages approached stealthily near the cottage, bang went the Chinese guns, and two of the intruders were killed on the spot. After a few days the Chinese dug up the bodies, and cut off the limbs, which they brought back to their home. The flesh and bones were chopped up together, and boiled into a jelly, which was drunk by the happy Chinese, and the remainder was distributed among their friends.

Soon after, the matter was brought before the local court, where the Chinese stated, as the excuse for their barbarous crimes, that the savages were open enemies to them, as many of their ancestors had fallen under their merciless hands. Besides, they believed that human flesh is a panacea for malarial and other endemic fevers, and that by drinking the soup of savage flesh they attained two ends—namely, revenge for their ancestors, and nourishment for their bodies.

In the first instance the Judge declared them not guilty, on the ground that Formosa laws do not recognize a personal right in the savages. But against this decision the procurator appealed, and in the higher court they were found guilty, as their barbarous conduct was inimical to the public peace.

When the Japanese took possession of Formosa in 1895, it was found that nearly all the northern, and a portion of the southern mountain fastnesses, which embrace more than one half of the total area of the island, were inhabited by bellicose and intractable wild men. Soon we found in them a formidable foe. They were not only a courageous people,

but armed to the teeth with sharp-curved knives and excellent modern rifles. With regard to the latter arms it is difficult to find anything similar in the neighbouring South Sea islands. In Formosa nearly every adult wild man is equipped with a rifle, which he holds almost as precious as life.

The introduction of these rifles recently includes such excellent foreign makes as Mauser and Remington. Some fifty years ago, when Mr. Swinhoe,* the first British Consul in Formosa, visited a tribe in North Formosa, he saw the savages had only old matchlocks. They exhibited much envy at sight of a modern rifle which he carried himself. Although the matchlock was known among the savages as far back as Chien-lung dynasty (1736-1795), the modern rifles were only introduced among them some forty years ago. According to a tradition prevailing among one of the Taiyal tribes, it is stated that a large number of the light blue, uniformed Chinese frontier guardsmen, or braves, appeared in their district, about that time, armed with rifles. Soon after, many of the Chinese braves were attacked and killed by their forerunners, and, as a consequence, the latter became the owners of modern arms for the first time in their history. Some twenty years after this occurrence, rifles passed into their hands in greater numbers, that is at the time of the withdrawal of Chinese troops from the island in 1895. The braves stationed at various frontier posts disposed, under stress of circumstances, of their rifles in a most reckless manner, bartering them with the savages. For an excellent weapon, the latter were willing to offer fifty to a hundred dollars.

Here it is interesting to note the evolutionary force that is operating in the savage arms. Before the introduction of firearms, the principal weapons were bow and poisoned arrows which, the ethnologists state, the primitive Malayan has copied from the Negrito. These were, as a rule, accompanied by a shield—a necessary accessory. But at

* R. Swinhoe: "Notes on the Ethnology of Formosa," 1863.

present the use of poisoned arrows is entirely obliterated among the Formosan tribes; although it seems to have prevailed among them some two or three generations ago. A few of the old savages in the southern tribes tell vaguely that, until the time of their grandfathers, a poison made from a certain plant was used. No exact information could be obtained with regard to this particular plant, or the process of manufacture. In the meantime the art of archery still holds good among the savage boys, either for shooting game or sporting purposes of other kinds. The surrender of rifles to the police as a sign of allegiance is one of the principal conditions demanded by the authorities, whenever the savages show a desire to pursue a peaceful life. Hence it is expected that it will bring about a reversion of archery among them to its former state of practical use.

The modern weapon alters its form in the hands of savages, so that it can be carried with greater ease. The barrel of a rifle is cut short, and the stock made thin, in order to reduce the weight in every possible way, because, in the mountain fastnesses, the prehensile-toed savages must climb up the precipice, crag, or mossy trunks, or hide in the jungle with ape-like celerity.

They understand the process of making powder, but bullets are entirely out of their reach, except through the Chinese smugglers; therefore they take exceptional precautions in economizing the use of shot-pellets, which are usually cut into two or three pieces. A savage will never discharge his gun unless he has confidence that he is sure to hit the object; but his gun is altered so clumsily that the ranges will not exceed 300 metres.

Generally, in a campaign against the savages, the percentage of killed is higher than that of the wounded, as compared with the case of a civilized war. The wounds inflicted on our men are fearful, far worse than those caused by the much cursed dum-dum bullet.

Since the opening of the trunk railway line, which stretches from north to south in the western part of the island, rapid

industrial developments are evident, among which the sugar industry ranks foremost. But, curiously enough, the eastern half was left intact, and still maintains its primitive condition, making a marked contrast to its civilized western neighbour. This is entirely due to the lack of means of communication, there being no available port along its entire coastline of nearly 150 miles. Here the shore, which is washed by the rough and fierce Pacific current, rises abruptly from the deep sea, so that landing is extremely difficult and dangerous at any time of year.

This part of Formosa also shows a remarkable discrepancy in point of population, when compared with the western coast, which has a population of 440 to the square mile whereas the east coast has only seventeen to the square mile, of which more than one half is represented by two semi-civilized tribes of Ami and Piyuma. This undeveloped and fertile district, therefore, certainly claims attention.

Since 1906 the government has encouraged the immigration of colonists from the mother country, and more than two thousand Japanese have settled, up to the present, in this part of the island. In the meantime possible means of communication between the two coasts is only practicable by land. This route must traverse the central mountain range, consisting in several places of high peaks of more than 12,000 feet in altitude. Added to this natural difficulty many powerful tribes of head-hunters infest the outskirts of the range on both sides.

The "Plan of Controlling the Savages," as it is called in Formosa, was inaugurated in 1909, covering a period of five fiscal years, at a cost of 15,000,000 yen. In carrying out this plan the resistance on the part of the savages follows in its train as an inevitable result, so that at present much time is spent in making campaigns in different places with heavy and costly sacrifices. But its ulterior object is the establishment of good thoroughfares in the northern district inhabited by the head-hunters. Indeed, the construction of a good road as an entering wedge for

civilizing the wild has already proved successful among hill tribes in the Philippines, and among jungle people in British India.

The northern savage district, which is at present a scene of fierce guerilla wars, is surrounded by the "guard line" extending nearly 300 miles. Over this line 1,700 stations and guard-houses are sprinkled, with a total guard force of 7,500, including both Japanese and Formosan Chinese. In some sections of the line wire entanglements are set up charged with electricity, which is supplied from four small power stations erected at the foot of mountain streams. Mountain and machine guns are also placed on commanding hills.

For a time the electrically charged wires were objects of great marvel to the savages, and something quite beyond the ken of their imagination. But soon experiences, accompanied by more or less sacrifice, taught them practical lessons, and they not infrequently trespassed over the line, shifting the wires by means of a dried bamboo pole, which they found would insulate the current, or by digging a hole in the ground just below the deadly wires.

Besides the communication by telephone which unites large stations on the line, a signal can be exchanged between the guard houses by means of a wooden or bamboo drum—a piece of bamboo, or a trunk of a tree hollowed out inside, about four feet in length, and a foot in diameter, which is slung from the eaves of a guard house at a distance of about 400 or 500 yards. It is stated that by this means a message can be transmitted from one end of the line to the other in about three hours. This system of drum telegraphy, however, is not of Formosan invention, but was imported by the Chinese from the mainland, together with the guard system, some 150 years ago.

Even in ordinary times the guardsman with a rifle, ready to handle at any moment, must keep an eye on the line day and night, for the savages approach stealthily to the line and shoot down the man, whether on duty, or drawing

water at the valley stream, and carry away the head of the victim. Such an occurrence is reported from different places, at present nearly every day.

Large stations, to which the bartering-place of the savages is attached, represent a sort of village fair when peace temporarily prevails. Here every day a number of savage families will arrive, every member of the family carrying on his or her back various jungle products—such as pith and China grasses, yams and taroës, deer horns and skins, or their textiles made of China grass. With these they will make exchange for salt, which forms the most important ingredient of their comestibles, matches, cotton stuffs and red woollen yarns. Many of their homes being in the hills, at a distance of from two to five days' trip, they usually pass a night in a hut built near the station, or a little beyond, outside the guard line. Here they will squat round a fire of smouldering branches, some cooking their own food, while others will dissipate in rice-wine which they have just got by exchange, merry talking being universal, and nearly every one of them holding a bamboo pipe in his or her mouth.

Since the territory beyond the guard line is not only *terra incognita*, but belongs to the dangerous zone, it would not be possible for any one to step outside, save at the risk of his life, without a powerful escort. Thus the savages coming down to the barter gives the police opportunity to obtain some information about the tribal affairs in the hills. The wild people, who are keen observers, utilize, too, this occasion for studying the condition of the outside world, and at the same time perform the more important duty of watching the movements of the guard force.

Whenever a campaign is proposed, the first sign is the arrival of a large number of baggage coolies for the transportation of miscellaneous supplies. In the mountainous districts of Formosa, where pack animals are unknown, everything from garlic—the most popular vegetable among the Chinese—to shells for the mountain gun, must be carried on the shoulders of coolies.

As soon as the wild emissary spies out that something unusual is taking place, he will return to his mountain home post haste, in some cases without taking rest day or night.

When the chief of a village receives the news, he will call a meeting of the village elders for consultation on the emergency of the situation. In the meantime, a message will be sent round to the neighbouring villages to attend the meeting.

The Taiyal tribe of North Formosa occupies more than 240 villages; each village, containing about thirty houses, is, in fact, a little independent state in itself, and the word of the chief is its law. Generally three to ten of these villages form a union called a "Tai-sha," or a large village, in which case the chief of the most influential village acts as the leader of a union. At present these unions number twenty to twenty-five. The villagers under a union take up joint action in a warfare, own a common field and hunting-ground, and intermarry among themselves. But to other unions, as a rule, they show a bitter enmity and hostility, and engage in a ceaseless war.

The chief is usually succeeded by his son, but in case the latter proves incompetent, the successor is selected from among the village elders. The orders of chief and elders are regarded as sacred by the members of the community, which, together with a code of strict sexual morality, is the finest trait attributed to this tribe. It is also a duty of the chief and village elders to infuse the spirit of manliness and courage into the younger generation. When they are assembled round the evening fire, after a day's work is over, the chief, or old man, will narrate to them many tales of valourous deeds done by some of their ancestors during warfare or in head-hunting expeditions, discoursing of the manliness shown at such times of danger. And he will wind up his story with the assertion that such acts would please the spirit of their ancestors.

From boyhood, every fighting member of the community is trained under a Spartan discipline. A grown up boy is

sent into the forest, where he will learn the use of his curved knife, by cutting down the branches, or practise shooting, either with a bow or rifle, at an imaginary target. In some cases a resolute father will plunge his son into the foaming rapids, in order to make him skilful in swimming, as there are many mountain torrents in the savage country, which must be crossed when he is out on an important errand.

When a decision is made at a meeting of the village chiefs and elders in favour of resistance, necessary preparations commence. Patrols are posted at important points, and scouts are despatched from time to time; to the latter the savages seem to devote the best of their energies. Entrenchments, which are invisible from a distance, are constructed usually at the spur of a steep hill, and flanked by a precipice. They consist of trunks of trees, a foot long, and one half foot in diameter, which are placed horizontally between pillars in three series, and provided with loopholes; the top is covered with boulder stones. In some cases these stones are hurled down from the eminence, when the enemy is in sight at its foot. As a secondary means of defence, nearly all trails approaching these entrenchments are planted with bamboo pikes, with pitfalls here and there, inside which are also planted bamboo pikes.

Such artifices as the erection of bogus straw figures, and the burning of torchlights on dark nights, of which we find many analogies in the war history of old Japan, are in frequent use. The command of the line is usually taken up by the chief of a union, who stops behind and gives necessary instructions to the men in front from time to time. Meanwhile the women and children occupy themselves in the important service of transporting provisions and ammunition to the front. The savage fighting men, scattered in groups of two or three, act in the way they think best, and at their own discretion. Very often they will not hesitate to make a dashing assault, and engage in hand to hand fighting, especially in case their entrenchments or important positions are found to be occupied by our force.

Generally throughout the campaign our men have difficulty in discovering the presence of the savages, as the latter conceal themselves so adroitly in the dense thickets that our men can only find out their whereabouts by the report of their guns. They show great reverence for their dead comrades, as it is considered a bad omen if their slain are discovered by the enemy, so they try their utmost to carry back a corpse to their village. In case this proves to be impossible, they will bury it in a spot unknown to the enemy, and return with the arms belonging to the dead man as a memento.

Indeed, against such a guerilla war among the mountain fastnesses, modern tactics seem to be of little avail. Under a new plan, which was inaugurated in 1910, seven difficult campaigns were undertaken extending up to the present time. The first one, which was opened simultaneously in the three districts of Gilan, Toen, and Shinchiku (May-October, 1910), was accompanied by heavy casualties, amounting to 500, of which about 200 were deaths. It was most disastrous in the first-named district, where a company of soldiers, including four officers, which was dispatched to relieve the police force, met with total annihilation. In the succeeding campaigns the roll of dead and wounded was great on each occasion, a total from the beginning reaching as high a figure as 1,600 in a period of three years.

In the absence of correct information it is impossible to find out the loss suffered on the part of the savages, but it is estimated that it did not exceed more than 30 per cent. of our own.

When these wild men recognize the futility of further resistance—especially if our force occupies an important position, which might greatly arrest their movements—the chief, or one of the village elders, will come out to the fighting line, and by waving a flag, as a sign of truce, or shouting in a loud voice, he will demand an interview with the authorities. We call this act on the part of the savages a "surrender," but they rather seem to consider it as peace making on an equal footing.

The chief is usually a good diplomat, and an eloquent speaker. As soon as he enters upon the negotiation he tries, by using every tactful means within his ability, to secure the best advantage for the interest of villages under his command, and at the same time to carry out his exorbitant demands. A series of interviews and negotiations is thus required before terms can be concluded.

With the surrender of their guns, the savages are allowed to settle inside the guard line. Up to the present about 4,000 wild people have established their peaceful homes in like manner. In new settlements they are trained in the various arts of life, where ordinary people, including government officials—except those connected with the savage affairs—are not allowed to enter without permission. Schools are also established for their children, and many of the graduates are working at present as assistants in these schools, or have joined the police force.

In many instances, immediately after their surrender, the wild people are brought down to Taihoku, the capital of the island, where they will spend several days in sightseeing, and studying many things which they behold for the first time in their lives. On several occasions, a group of them, consisting of twenty to fifty people from different tribes, was sent to Japan on an ocean steamer, the voyage occupying five days. These trips are no doubt of great benefit in opening up the minds of the wild people. Besides, on their return to their respective homes in the hills, they may be able to spread among the villagers the knowledge they have acquired during their trip.

The primitive languages are naturally devoid of terms to explain many objects of modern invention, so that the villagers in many cases could not understand the wonderful stories told by newly enlightened friends. In addition to this, the speaker himself might not be able to comprehend adequately the fabrication of such objects.

To avoid such difficulties, in their next trip to Japan, a cinematograph photographer followed them, and while the

visitors were actively engaged, their doings were recorded on the films, together with the objects or scenes they were looking at. When these films were exhibited, after their return to their mountain homes, the rest of the villagers were able to understand modern things and affairs more correctly.

There are at present about 120,000 aborigines in Formosa, consisting of nine tribes—namely, the Taiyal, Saisett, Bunun, Tsarisen, Ami, Paiwan, Piyuma, Tsou, and Yami. Of these, about 60,000 are gentle and semi-civilized people, and about one half of the rest have already shown allegiance to the authorities, so that the difficult task of civilizing the remaining 30,000 wild people, of whom the majority are Taiyal head-hunters, has still to be achieved.

Since Japan entered into the arena of the colonial Powers, she has been confronted with many a problem of which she had no previous experience. Among them that of civilizing the savage was in itself a question most difficult to solve. But history repeats itself everywhere, so that in carrying out this great duty now lying before her, many hardships, followed necessarily by costly sacrifices, cannot be avoided.

Eventually, with the completion of good thoroughfares in the districts inhabited by the savages, the march of civilization and industrial enterprise will follow, and at the same time the eyes of the wild men will be opened ; while their future life will prove what we have accomplished for their lasting benefit.

SOME NOTES ON THE POSITION OF EARLY EURASIANS.

By A. FRANCIS STEUART.

1789.—COUNTRY-BORN ladies were well received, but the author was shocked at their smoking hookahs (which their European contemporaries did in India also). “I wished to have taken her portrait on the spot, for her form is elegant, her complexion near the European standard, and the novelty of her attitude such as rendered them altogether an admirable subject for the pencil.” Her Eurasian friend was “extremely winning in her address during our voyage in the *bugero*, and declaredly ambitious to be admitted on the list of my friends” (“Hartley House,” pp. 15, 17).

At the theatre “several country-born ladies figured away in the boxes, and by candle-light had absolutely the advantage of the Europeans; for their dark complexions and sparkling eyes gave them the appearance of animation and health the Europeans had no pretensions to; and their persons are genteel and their dresses magnificent.”—(*Ibid.*, p. 204.)

January 30, 1790.—“I freely avow to you that I have a son three years old, who dares not pronounce the name of Charles which I wish to give him. He was born at the time when James A—— was favoured with a daughter, Lieutenant Kin—— with a son, and Dr. C——e, the remaining gentleman of our party, with a daughter. The two former are now in Europe, and will inform you of the

general approved custom in the East for the officers, etc., to keep women, notwithstanding the disadvantage of getting black children. . . . Mrs. John M—, a lady of amiable behaviour, one day gave advice to a young man, named Lieutenant MacG—, of the regiment in which I served, whose constitution had been ruined by debauch, to attach himself to one female, like the wise men of the old times. I weighed the matter (longer than most, perhaps) in my own mind till May, 1785, when, guided by the advice and dear-bought experience of others, I resolved at Delhy to hire a young woman of good family, instead of purchasing one of a bad, as was often the custom ; and although I have had the misfortune to become a father out of wedlock . . . I am extremely lucky . . . my boy being as fair as I am, and having white hair.* I shall not be ashamed of giving him an English education to render him fit for any mechanical branch of business or other line that may hereafter appear proper for him."—(M.S. Letter from Scindia's Camp, near Muttra.)

1799.—Julius Imhoff, stepson of Warren Hastings, was made Collector of Midnapore, and died there in 1799. He left three "native-born" sons—one died young, and the disposal of the other two is not uninstructive, as showing how colour played a considerable part in the provision of the Eurasian child. John, the eldest, described as "very dark in complexion," was educated at Calcutta, whereas William, who was of "a fine countenance, mild, open, intelligent, and bears a strong resemblance to his poor father," was educated in England, and was received by his step-grandfather and Mrs. Hastings at Dalesford in the holidays. Falling into evil ways, he was sent back to India, but there his descent excluded him from the Company's service, even at St. Helena or Bencoolen, although his nomination had actually been passed by the Directors.—(Griers' "Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife," p. 451.)

* His younger brother became a Captain and Brevet-Major in the 91st Regiment.

1807.—Mrs. Sherwood met, in 1807, at Boglipore, Dr. G., a doctor of great wealth—"one of the very few remaining Anglo-Indians of the old school." He was a man of between seventy or eighty years of age, and had been in India since his youth. He lived there as a "nabob" with his family of seven half-caste children.

"He was the surgeon of the station, and had houses and indigo plantations in the hills. He had an immense household; probably he did not himself know how many servants. His four sons were either clerks in Calcutta, or at the indigo plantations. They were not of a colour to introduce to the world, although I never could quite understand why the sons of a family were to be accounted unpresentable when the daughters were to have every advantage of countenance and education. The three daughters were just returned from a boarding-school in England—so lately, indeed, as to have the fashions much later than we had. They were extremely dark girls. . . . As is very common with girls of this kind, they were so devoted to dress that . . . they spent the best part of the day in dressing." The state kept by Dr. G— was great, and his family "was, in consequence, always prepared for morning visit at this (the breakfast) hour, and the table was always filled by young gentlemen . . . young civilians, generally of good if not high families in Europe, dressed from head to foot in white nankeen . . . lively oftentimes and somewhat foppish, but always disposed to be exceedingly polite to the ladies. The manners of the Anglo-Indians in my time were highly aristocratic. The young gentlemen mixed themselves with the young ladies at the table, and looked and spoke sweet things, though in their hearts they probably despised them."

Mrs. Sherwood continues: "When the ladies withdrew, Miss G— asked me with a smile if I should like to see her mother. I was unfeignedly astonished, and expressed myself so. Of course I did not doubt that she had had a mother, and I knew that this mother had been a native, but that she was anywhere where I could see her, I had no

idea. Of the multitudes of half-native ladies with whom I afterwards became acquainted, I never heard of the existence of the mother. I never knew of one, besides (except?) the mother of Dr. G——'s children, to whom the same respect was paid. . . . On the contrary, I have heard of shocking instances of the neglect of these poor creatures, who, whilst their daughters are revelling in all Oriental luxury, are often left in the most abject situations! —(Mrs. Sherwood's Letters.)

In 1827 Mrs. Fenton (then Mrs. Niel Campbell) writes : " It seems to me very strange the prejudice existing here [in Bengal] against half-castes. Formerly, when European ladies were rarely met with, they held a place in society which they have now entirely lost. The different estimation in which the native servants hold *them* and *us* is quite surprising. As yet I know nothing of them myself; it is from hearing Niel and the officers of our party speak of them that I judge."

March 27.—She finds her cousin's wife is a half-caste.

" I was a little mortified, as I had not supposed I had a single connection in the country of that colour which seemed so unfashionable, and I began to fear that there must be some truth in a belief, which is so general, to their prejudice. Colonel Sale is most violent on the subject ; he will not allow a soldier to marry a native woman, but laments he cannot prevent the officers *disgracing* themselves. There is only one half-caste lady in the 13th, and it is rumoured she is likely to leave it shortly ; it is so far fortunate."

" It is, I must tell you, the extremity of bad taste to appear in anything of Indian manufacture*—neither muslin, silk, flowers, nor even ornaments, however beautiful. This

* Miss Eden, Lord Auckland's sister, writes that this still endured in 1836. " They make silks with embossed flowers in them, so stiff and grand, they would sit up all alone on a chair. To appear in one of those silks would make all the Calcutta ladies fall down in separate fainting fits ; because, being in Asia, they think it incumbent upon them to wear only what comes from Europe" ("Letters from India," i. 225, 226).

at first amazed me: when I wanted to purchase one of these fine-wrought Dacca muslins, I was assured I must not be seen in it, as none but half-castes *ever* wore them. These dresses sell in London as high as £7 and 10. I do remember thinking myself as fine as the Queen of Sheba in one given me by dear Aunt Angel."

When staying later with her cousin's sister-in-law (Miss M——) at Bishop's College, Calcutta, she writes on December 30:

"I had often been told that half-castes had no sympathy with Europeans, but I rejected it as an illiberal sentence on a whole race. Now I do believe, for I *see* and *hear* it." And, later, about the college: "It wants respectability, which it never will acquire while a half-caste is mistress, for no ladies of influence will take an active interest in its support."

Mrs. Fenton writes in 1828: "What a melancholy piece of intelligence . . . the death of Captain H—— of the 44th very suddenly at Gazeepore. . . . The situation of these native-born young women" [his wife was, she says, a "dark ladye"] "is often most pitiable under such [impecunious] circumstances. They are alike discarded by their father and their husband's family, and being left without an independent provision, I can hardly fancy a more dreadful situation, especially if they go to England, for what can they do there, generally unfitted by their birth and education to retain a place in their husband's class of life? These marriages are unfortunate for both parties, and seldom turn out otherwise."—(Journal of Mrs. Fenton.)

March 9, 1837, Miss Eden writes: "Tuesday morning a huge box of lovely articles—shawls, kincobs, tartans, etc.—was sent to me to look at. They belonged to a Mrs. —, a native woman of very high caste and very beautiful, who was married, both by the Mussulman and Protestant rites, to an English Colonel, —, who took her to England last year, and he died on his passage home. She has never changed her native habits, cannot speak a

word of English, and is quite helpless and ignorant. She came back in the ship that took her out, under the care of her eldest boy, who has been brought up at home, and cannot speak a word of Hindustani, so he and his mother cannot have much communication. . . . They say it is quite melancholy to see her sitting on the floor, as natives do, with a coarse veil over her head, mourning over her loss. Her children are all brought up at home as English people, and she will never see them again."—(Letters, Vol. i., p. 324.)

June 21, 1841 (Calcutta).—"I wonder what natives must think of the Christian religion, judging by its effects here? An indigo planter the other day murdered his wife, a girl of sixteen, in the most horrible manner—beat her to death—and, because she was half-caste, the other planters in the neighbourhood helped him to get away, and the magistrate took no notice of the murder till the papers got hold of it. Then the Government interfered, but the murderer had gone off to France. 'Indeed, indeed, I'm very, very sick.'"—(Miss Eden's Letters, vol. ii., p. 253.)

1835.—The prejudices against "dark beauties" (the phrase usually employed to designate those who are the inheritors of the native complexion) are daily gaining ground, and in the present state of female intellectuality their uncultured minds form a decided objection. The English language has degenerated in the possession of the "country born," and their pronunciation is short and disagreeable, and they usually place the accent on the wrong syllable. Though not so completely barbarized as in America, the mother, or rather father, tongue has lost its strength and beauty and acquired a peculiar idiom.—("Scenes and Characteristics of Hindustan," by Emma Roberts, 1835, vol. i., p. 43.)

1838.—The progeny from the illicit intercourse of Europeans and natives is very numerous, especially about Madras. Many of these Anglo-Indians have attained wealth, rank, and respectability. The stigma which

Government affixed to them as a class by the regulations respecting the military fund has been recently removed, but it will be long before the prejudices of the white aristocracy at Madras can be wholly effaced.—(Major H. Bevan, "Thirty Years in India" (1808-1838), p. 20.)

1838.—The position of Indo-Britons at Government House is somewhat singular, and it perhaps would have been advisable to have extended invitations to respectable persons of that class. In this case native prejudice has been more considered than the aristocratic feeling which has excluded retail dealers who boast an unsullied descent from European parents. The natives look down, or at least have looked down, with great contempt upon a mixed breed which, upon the maternal side, must have sprung from the lowest or the least virtuous class of society. . . . The better classes of the Eurasians . . . bore their exclusion with more equanimity than the European shopkeepers, though certainly their case was the harder of the two. . . .

For a very long period no half-caste was admitted into Government House. Marriages with this class of the community were discouraged by banishment from society and even by the forfeiture of office. Nevertheless, the charms of the dark-eyed beauties prevailed ; a man of high rank contrived to introduce his wife ; other married ladies were admitted, there being no longer any plea for their exclusion ; but it was a long time before exceptions were made in favour of illegitimate daughters. Several succeeding Governors-General positively refused to admit them ; and it is not exactly known how their entrance was effected at last. . . . Emancipation from the restrictions which oblige them to move in a very inferior grade of society has been rigidly denied to the sons of Europeans by native women ; their only employments leading to wealth have been wholly mercantile, and the greater number have been only qualified to fill the lower orders of clerkships. . . . The young ladies, conscious of their superior prospects, look down

upon their male relatives with undisguised disdain.—(Miss Roberts, vol. iii., pp. 95, 97.)

One of the curious fates of the fair Eurasian we learn from Colonel Sleeman's "Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh." There he narrates :

"Mokuddera Ouleea, one of the consorts of the King, Nuseer-od-Deen Hyder, was the daughter of Mr. George Hopkins Walters, a half-pay officer of one of the regiments of British Dragoons, who came to Lucknow as an adventurer. He there united himself (though not in marriage) to the widow of Mr. Whearty, an English merchant or shopkeeper of that city, who had recently died, leaving this widow, who was the daughter [by a native] of Mr. [John] Culloden, an English merchant of Lucknow. . . . By Mr. Walters, this widow had one daughter, who afterwards became united to the King, under the title of "Mokuddera Ouleea." . . . The daughters were good-looking, and the mother was disposed to make the most of their charms, without regard to creed or colour. . . .

"The King died in July, 1837, and Mokuddera Ouleea went to reside near her mother . . . taking with her great wealth in jewels and other things, which she had accumulated during the King's lifetime. . . . Mokuddera Ouleea had, from the time she became estranged from her husband, the King, led a very profligate life, and she continued to do the same in her widowhood." . . . She died November 12, 1840. Her remains "were interred within the compound of the house, near those of her mother, though the King, Mahomed Allee Shah, wished to have them buried by the side of those of her husband, the late King."

A lady describes her October 18, 1828 :

"The other newly-made Queen is nearly European. . . . She is, in my opinion, plain, but is considered by the native ladies very handsome. . . . She is the daughter of a European merchant, and is accomplished for an inhabitant of a zunana, as she writes and speaks Persian fluently, as well as Hindooostanee, and is said to be teaching the King

English. . . . When asked if she liked being in the zunana, she shook her head and looked quite melancholy."

"*On dit* the English Begum was the daughter of a half-caste and an English officer; her mother afterwards married a native buniya (shopkeeper). She had a sister ; both the girls lived with the mother, and employed themselves in embroidering saddle-cloths for the horses of the rich natives. They were both very plain ; nevertheless, one of them sent her picture to His Majesty, who, charmed with the portrait, married the lady. She had money in profusion at her commands. She made her father-in-law her treasurer and pensioned her mother and sister" (Mrs. Parkes, "Wanderings of a Pilgrim," vol. i., pp. 88, 89). In another place she says : "The old Begum talked to us, but appeared surprised I should admire Tajmahul more than the English Begum, as she is styled—*my countrywoman*, as they styled her. Poor thing ! I felt ashamed of the circumstance when I saw her chewing pān with all the gusto of a regular Hindostanee."

HANYU; OR, THE CHINESE PRINCE OF LITERATURE.

By DAVID ALEC WILSON.

THE common name for Hanyu now is Han Wen-Kung, and he is known to foreigners merely by the honourable description of "the Prince of Literature." Like many of the great men of China, he was no Prince or gentleman by birth, but rose from the "furrowed fields" to the highest offices of the State. What keeps his memory evergreen is his double merit of being both a writer and a statesman of superlative quality.

If Cardinal Wolsey had been able to effect a reformation in Church and State which pleased everybody who was worthy of being pleased, and if, in addition, he had written the plays of Shakespeare, he would have been an English Hanyu. In actual history England has nobody of the sort, her nearest approximations, perhaps, being Chaucer or Raleigh, Burke or Macaulay ; but Germany has Goethe, and America has Benjamin Franklin.

He was born in A.D. 768, and died 824. So he is quite modern, as they date things in China, and yet in all essential respects he is one of their greatest classics, for his writings are esteemed a model of Chinese composition, and his behaviour is admired to this day as a model of manly conduct under difficult circumstances.

The only bit of his poetry to be quoted here entitles him to be called a pioneer humanitarian.

"Spare, O spare the morning fly,
Busy humming round about:
Let the gnats go safely by,
Or a curtain keep them out.

"Like yourself, they live and bite,
Happy for their little day;
Failing with the autumn light,
Like yourself, they're swept away."

Leaving curious readers to refer to Giles's "Chinese Literature" and other such books for more details, let it suffice here to tell that under a big picture of him, said to be still visible in a temple on the hills in Kuang Tung province (Canton), there are a few words written worthy of Dante, the highest eulogy ever won by any "man in power." It is not that such praise has not been spoken before, for there is nothing in the way of praise which has not been said; but this was both sincere and correct, so that everybody could agree about it:

"WHEREVER HE PASSED HE PURIFIED."

Men hate to look up—that is one of the many moral features which link them to their arboreal ancestors. So when they praise, they generally need a motive. Then how came Hanyu to be honoured there? More than four hundred years after Hanyu's death Marco Polo describes the people thereabouts as somewhat savage, not likely to appreciate humane poetry.

The problem is a little like that of the remains in Africa, which suggest so many questions about primeval company promoters. Happily, in the case of Hanyu there are history books to tell us, as usual, "all that is known, and more." Without believing more than seems likely to be true, there is yet an interesting tale to tell.

In 803, when Charlemagne had worn his crown two or three years, and he and Harun al Rashid, who sent presents to each other, were in all ways enjoying, as much as they could, the pleasures of imperialism (and happily ignorant of what Fate was preparing for them and theirs),

the Emperor Hsien Tsung was nodding upon a bigger empire than either of them, and might well have been envied by them both, for he had a truthful Minister. That is a miraculous kind of thing, and rare in history ; but, to the credit of China be it said, it is a kind of miracle at least as common there as anywhere. Hanyu was the man.

Hsien Tsung had been filling up the vacuity of grandeur by devotion. A holy bone of Buddha was coming in state, and he was edifying his people, as he supposed, by showing his veneration for the sacred relic. Absurd as it all looks now, let us not forget that Christians and Muhammadans, Hindus and humanity of every hue, have often done as much or more in the same way. In those years and for centuries afterwards the worship of relics predominated in Europe. The only thing peculiar to China, and that is a glory indeed, is that there was a contemporary Hanyu, who told the truth on the spot at the risk of his life, and smashed the superstition then and there. It is easy to laugh at a lurid humbug afterwards, in broad daylight ; but to ridicule it in the dark, and to make even its imperial and multitudinous devotees ashamed of themselves, that was a feat requiring a combination of courage and intellect seldom seen in the history of the world.

It was needed, too. The event has justified whatever seemed questionable about this great performance at the time. If Hanyu had merely shrugged his shoulders in silence like other men of sense, the right way of thinking, developed by Confucius from ancient experience, might have been obscured in China, and the fair and flowery land of antique civilization might have been darkened by the smoky, dingy clouds of superstition that hung heavily over the west end of the world. Instead of which the historians seem to agree that "Buddhism"—meaning the particular set of hallucinations then and there current under that name—"has never recovered" from what Hanyu wrote. So the people were saved.

Let those who suppose the Chinese Emperor a despot of

the Indian or Turkish type, at liberty to "do whatever he likes with his own," try to put themselves in the place of Hsien Tsung, the richest and most glorious potentate in the world in A.D. 803, when he was doing honour to Buddha amid popular applause, and had to accept from a high official, as Hanyu then was, a public memorial containing words to this effect :

Your servant has now heard that instructions have been issued to the priestly community to proceed to Feng-hsiang and receive a bone of Buddha, and that from a high tower your Majesty will view its introduction into the Imperial Palace ; also that orders have been sent to the various temples, commanding that the relic be received with the proper ceremonies. Now, foolish though your servant may be, he is well aware that your Majesty does not do this in the vain hope of deriving advantages therefrom ; but that in the fulness of our present plenty, and in the joy which reigns in the hearts of all, there is a desire to fall in with the wishes of the people in the celebration at the capital of this delusive mummery. For how could the wisdom of your Majesty stoop to participate in such ridiculous beliefs ?

Still, the people are slow of perception and easily beguiled ; and should they behold your Majesty thus earnestly worshipping at the feet of Buddha they would cry out : " See ! The Son of Heaven, the All-wise is a fervent believer ! Who are we, his people, that we should spare our bodies ? "

Then would ensue a scorching of heads and burning of fingers ; crowds would collect together, and, tearing off their clothes and scattering their money, would spend their time from morn to eve in imitation of your Majesty's example. The result would be that soon the young and the old would be seized with the same enthusiasm, and neglect the duties of life ; and should your Majesty not prohibit it, they would be

found flocking to the temples, ready to cut off their arms or slice their bodies as an offering to the god. Thus would our traditions and our customs be seriously injured, and ourselves become a laughing-stock on the face of the earth. Assuredly, this is not a trifle.

For Buddha was a Barbarian. His language was not the language of China. His clothes were of a foreign cut. He did not (for he could not) manifest the wisdom of antiquity, behaving according to the good old ways, and speaking the sound sense of our ancient ruling sages. (He was ignorant of these, our greatest blessings.) He did not realize the holiness of the relations that bind together King and Minister, father and son.

Suppose (the best that could have happened—that is to say, suppose) that he had come to our capital in person, a lawful ambassador from his native state. Then indeed your Majesty might properly have received him as usual with dignified words of welcome, entertained him to dinner, bestowed robes of honour, and finally sent him home with an honourable escort of soldiers. This would have hindered his visit from doing any harm to the minds of the people.

Instead of all that, what is really happening now? The man is dead. His body has rotted away long ago. It is a bit of bone—a bit of the dead man's bone, to be sure, which is to be solemnly introduced into the Imperial Palace.

Confucius said (in reply to Fan Che asking what made wisdom, Ana., VI., 20): "To concentrate earnestly upon human duties, and, while paying the usual respects to spiritual beings, to keep them at a distance, that is the behaviour which might be called wisdom." (Mr. Legge's commentary on this famous text is worth quoting here. "The sage's advice therefore is: 'Attend to what are plainly human duties, and do not be superstitious.'")

In the same way it was the custom of old for princes paying visits of condolence to each other to send a magician (or cleric of some kind) with a (sacred staff or) peach wand in hand, to sanctify things (literally, expel all noxious influences, or, in more modern phrase, to disinfect things) before the arrival of his master. And yet now your Majesty is wantonly bringing in this loathsome bone. You are yourself taking a hand in the performance, no magician or staff in sight at all.

The officials are dumb. Not a word comes from any of them against it. The very Censors are silent. Not one of them has damned this act. So your servant has to speak, overwhelmed with shame for the Censors, and to implore your Majesty to bid these bones be destroyed by fire or water. That is the way to uproot the mighty nuisance and end it for ever. That is the way to make the people see your Majesty's wisdom is above the common. Oh, the glory of a deed like that shall be beyond all praise!

If the Lord Buddha can do anything in retribution, let him do his worst to me. Be it upon me! Your servant swears that he is ready to endure any misfortune Lord Buddha can send. Be Heaven itself the witness—he shall never repent his oath!

Although anyone, even an Emperor, can now admire this remarkable state paper, it was natural that, in 803, his Imperial Majesty Hsien Tsung, the most glorious monarch then in the world, was infuriated by it. In modern England Henry VIII. would have decapitated the whole House of Lords for less than that. So let us not unduly blame his Imperial Majesty for what he did do. Hanyu had many friends, and instead of decapitation was merely "transferred"—sent to an official post in the wild southern province of Canton. There, with admirable patience, the banished hero did the work that came to hand, and set himself to civilize the savage Cantonese backwoodsmen.

The inscription still visible below his picture preserved on their hills may be taken as evidence of some success.

It is written, however, that he did not linger there very long. He was recalled to the capital, and reinstated in office, but died at the age of fifty-six, and all lamented that he "passed so soon . . . into the great unknown." Liu Tsung-yuan used to say he never ventured to open what Hanyu had written without first washing his hands in rose-water. But his conduct was the best of all. Nobody can think of him well without being the better for it. It is a blessing to ourselves to honour Hanyu. It is flattery to princes to call him "*a Prince of Literature.*" He was one of Nature's heroes.

It is only needful to add that in all he did Hanyu was fulfilling the Confucian ideal. The imitation of Confucius was never better done. The duty of remonstrance was one upon which the sage insisted by precept and example. Thus, in the famous "*Classic of Filial Piety,*" whereof Mr. Legge gives a translation at the end of vol. iii. of the Sacred Books of the East, we read in Chapter XV. that a disciple asked the sage whether simple obedience to the orders of a father could be pronounced filial piety, and was answered: "What words are these! What words are these! Anciently, if the Son of Heaven had . . . ministers who would remonstrate with him, he would not lose his possession of the kingdom, although he had no right methods of government; . . . and the father who had a son that would remonstrate with him would not sink into the gulf of unrighteous deeds. Therefore, when a case of unrighteous conduct is concerned, a son must by no means keep from remonstrating with his father, nor a minister from remonstrating with his ruler. So, since remonstrance is required in the case of unrighteous conduct, how can simple obedience to the orders of a father be accounted filial piety?"

Sayings such as these recall the famous passage of Grotius, quoted by Schiller in a footnote near the opening

of his "History of the Revolt of the Netherlands." Grotius distinguished the Belgians from the Spaniards by explaining that while loyalty to their rulers was "equally innate in both peoples," the difference is "that the Belgian places the law above the kings."

The Chinese have learned long ago from Confucius and others like him what Goethe and Carlyle have been lately teaching the West, that men have to learn, and not make, eternal laws, and that righteousness is what must be placed above both the kings and the "laws"—the righteousness implanted in the consciences of men, illuminated by the teachings and examples of heroic sages who lead us upwards, like pillars of fire across the deserts of life. Of these Hanyu was one: "Wherever he passed he purified."

REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

THE OLD TESTAMENT, HEBREW AND ASSYRIAN LANGUAGES.

THE "Société Biblique de Paris" has undertaken, with the aid of a number of collaborators (Protestant Hebraists of France and Switzerland), a "New Translation of the Old Testament," which will be ready for publication on the occasion of its centenary in 1918. This translation will be of a strictly scientific character, and will be carried out on the lines of the famous translation into German by Kantsych. A specimen of the translation has recently been issued—the Book of Amos*—with introduction and critical and exegetical notes on the text.

To the "Bible Dictionary," published by F. Vigouroux, has been added Part XXXVIII. (*Temple—Tuteur*).† This Catholic publication, despite its conservative character from the point of view of biblical criticism, is worthy of note on account of the value of the archæological articles it contains.

Vol. V. of the "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,"‡

* "Le Livre du Prophète Amos," Société Biblique de Paris, 54, Rue des Saints-Pères. Paris: 1913.

† Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912.

‡ Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1912.

edited by J. Hastings, contains several important articles on Semitic Orientalism; of special note are those on Jewish and Mussulman family life, Mussulman education, Mussulman festivals, fasting in Islam, festivals and fasting among the Hebrews, etc. This cyclopædia, which has the collaboration of specialists in all branches, is remarkably carefully edited, reaching in this respect a standard of excellence rarely attained in works of this nature.

P. H. Vincent has begun the publication of his great work of topographical, archæological, and historical research on "Jerusalem." Volume I. is devoted to ancient Jerusalem; Part I., recently issued,* treats of the topography of ancient Jerusalem. To it are annexed nineteen superb plates. This first part furnishes captivating reading; it would be difficult to find a better guide to the exploration and knowledge of old Jerusalem. In it the author deals specially with rather controversial questions connected with Sion and the City of David, and Millo and Ophel. The author seems to me to have proved the identity of the tunnel of Ophel with the *Sinnōr* (2 Sam. v. 8),† the passage through which King David gave orders that the interior of the fortress of Zion should be reached. His demonstration is extremely interesting.

Professor K. Albrecht has lately published a "Neuhebräische Grammatik auf Grund der Mischna."‡ The work is interesting and well written, very complete, and yet concise. Its scientific character is shown by numerous Mischnic quotations justifying the rules given.

The publication of the "Babylon Talmud" (text with

* Paris: J. Gabalda, 1912.

† Revised Edition: "And David said on that day: Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, let him get up to the watercourse" (Hebrew: *bassinōr*). Compare 1 Chron. xi. 6: "And David said: Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. And Joab the son of Zeruiah went up first, and was made chief." The text of Chronicles completes the interrupted text of 2 Sam. v. 8.

‡ Munich: C. H. Beck, 1913 ("Clavis linguarum Semiticarum," ed. H. L. Strack, pars. v.).

German translation), by L. Goldschmidt, has been advanced by the issue of the *Qiddushin* treatise.*

M. A. Neviasky is going on with the publication of his French translation of the "Shulkhan 'Arouk," or "Ritual of Judaism." Sections X. and XI. are just out.† The volume is of especial interest from the fact that it treats essentially of the laws of purity in marriage (Section X.). Section XI. deals with the laws in regard to immersion (*tbehilah*) and the reservoir specially set apart for that purpose, the *miqvah*, a subject intimately connected with that of purity (*niddah*) in marriage.

We note the issue of the fifth edition of "Assyrische Lesestücke,"‡ by Fried. Delitzsch. This work, with its elements of grammar and glossary, forms an excellent introduction to the Assyrian and Semitico-Babylonian cuneiform literature.

ARABIAN LANGUAGE AND ISLAM.

Studies on Arabic dialects have been steadily developing. The following are noteworthy among the numerous works lately published dealing with this important branch.

S. Spiro Bey has published "A New Practical Grammar of the Modern Arabic of Egypt."§ The author is a specialist on the Egyptian Arabic dialect, to the study of which he has devoted the whole of a life spent in Egypt, where his book has been printed. Some years ago he published an Arabic-English and English-Arabic dictionary (Egyptian dialect). This new grammar is not only the work of a particularly competent Arabist, but is also a most practical manual. The pronunciation is shown by means of a system of transcription adapted to the English public. Numerous practical exercises accompany the theoretical exposition of the language, and to the rules set forth; and at the end the

* "Fünfter Band, Vierte Lieferung." Leipzig : Otto Harrassowitz, 1912.

† Paris : E. Leroux, 1912.

‡ "Fünfte neu bearbeitete Auflage." Leipzig : J. E. Hinrichs, 1912.

§ London : Luzac and Co., 1912.

author has added a collection of everyday conversational phrases and a selection of fables (text and translation).

We heartily recommend Spiro Bey's book to all who wish to learn modern Egyptian Arabic.

An Algerian, Ben Ali Fekar, *docteur en droit*, Professor of Arabic to the Chamber of Commerce at Lyon, has also published an equally commendable manual on the "Algerian Arabic Dialect,"* to which he has added some interesting observations on the Moroccan dialect. This work is also extremely practical; evidently the author has been long accustomed to teaching Arabic. The pronunciation is transliterated for French readers. The work is divided into three parts; in the first is the grammar itself, with numerous exercises (vocabularies, translation exercises, terms and expressions relating to the weather, private and business correspondence, etc.); the second part contains "object lessons," with plates and vocabularies; the third contains short tales in Moroccan dialect (text and translation), and various types of moghrabin writing. In an appendix the author studies some words and expressions of Turkish origin in use at Tlemcen. The originality of this manual consists in the plates in Part II. These plates, to the number of twenty-nine, are most instructive, representing a host of objects—*e.g.*, parts of the body, the details of the house, the mosque, school, clothing, arms, etc.—with their Arabic names, and numerous explanations.

Messrs. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and L. Mercier have just issued a "Manuel d'arabe Marocain,"† preceded by a long and interesting introduction on the history and geography of Morocco. The authors recommend, with reason, the practical works on the Moroccan dialect by P. Lerchundi,‡ and W. Marçais's capital work on the same

* *Leçons d'Arabe Dialectal Marocain-Algérien.* Lyon: A. Rey, 1913.

† Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1913.

‡ "Rudimentos del Arabe Vulgar." Tanger: third edition, 1902. "Diccionario del Arabe Vulgar." Tanger, 1892. We have ourselves made use of these works in Morocco, and can bear witness to their practical character.

language.* The work by Demombynes and Mercier is excellent; it is composed of a very complete theoretical exposition of the language, accompanied by numerous examples, to which the authors have added a variety of dialogues, a technical vocabulary, a list of Spanish words which have been absorbed into Moroccan Arabic, and a calendar. There is also a short study on the Berber dialects of Morocco. Berber, as is known, is the language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants in Morocco.

"The Arabic spoken in the Ouadai and the Tchad" has been made the object of a very practical study by H. Carbou,† which we heartily recommend. The work is in three parts: grammar with numerous examples, text (songs in Arabic), and Arabic vocabulary. Two interesting appendices: one on forms of greeting, the other on the use of the words *abū* and *am*.

It is most interesting to compare these various grammars of Arabic as spoken in different countries; the dialethic peculiarities being all the more curious in that they are influenced by the linguistic environment in the respective districts. In Morocco: Berber. Ouadai and the Tchad: Touhou, etc.

M. Alarcón y Santón, Professor of Arabic at the Barcelona School of Commerce, has published some texts (with translation and notes in Spanish) in the common dialect of Larache.‡ The work is highly interesting; the text is printed in Maghreb characters, followed by a transcription in ordinary Latin type, affording most instructive material as to the Larache dialect.

It should be noted, in connection with this book, that the Moroccan dialect undergoes variations according as it is

* "Textes Arabes de Tanger." Paris: 1912. ("Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales.")

† "Méthode Pratique pour l'étude de l'Arabe parlé au Ouaday et à l'est du Tchad." Paris: P. Geuthner, 1913. See our report in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1912, where we announced this book.

‡ "Textos árabes en dialecto vulgar de Larache." Madrid: 1913. ("Junta para ampliación de estudios e investigaciones científicas.")

spoken at Tetouan, Tangiers, Larache, Casablanca, etc. The books written by P. Lerchundi, mentioned above, are concerned mainly in the Tetouan dialect.

In the collection, "Pages choisies des grands écrivains," L. Machuel has prepared a volume of Arab authors.* It forms, in translation, a good chrestomathy of Arabian literature. It begins with extracts from the Koran and the seven Mo'allakat, and contains a judicious selection of fragments from authors of all periods (with explicative notes). A useful work of vulgarization.

In a work of a general character, "Où en est l'histoire des religions (?)"[†] published under J. Bricout's direction, Carra de Vaux has devoted a few brief pages to Islam.

The "Histoire des Arabes,"[‡] of which the first volume was recently issued by Mr. C. Huart, is the first book of the kind which has been published since the appearance of Caussion de Perceval's work on the history of the Arabs, which was in some sort of classic. We are, therefore, grateful to be able to call attention to the present important and elegantly written work, which brings within reach of the general public the results of the scientific studies which have been made of the Arabs and their history.

The first volume of C. Huart's history of the Arabs covered a period extending from the origins of the Arab people down to the Caliphate of Bagdad from Mostakfi; and covers, therefore, an immense space of time, from beyond 3000 B.C. down to A.D. 1258. We know, however, practically nothing of the epoch preceding the Christian era, and very little even before the time of Mahomet—*i.e.*, until the seventh century A.D.

Huart deals in much detail with the habits and customs of the Arabs (a sort of introduction to the primitive history of Arabia), and with the history of Mahomet and the organization of Mussulman society. The author is much

* Paris : A. Colin, 1912.

† Two vols. 8vo. Paris : Letouzey et Ané, 1911.

‡ Paris : P. Geuthner, 1912.

briefer in his treatment of the period from the Caliphate of Abou - Bekr (632-634) to the Abbassite Caliphate of Mosta'cim (1242-1258).

In spite of its defects, Huart's history of the Arabs will render very considerable service. It arrives just at the right moment, filling a gap which has long existed; for the work by Caussin de Perceval has been out of print and un procurable for many years past, and has also long been left behind by the scientific researches of which the Arabs have recently been the object.

P. Casanova has published a critical study on primitive Islam, entitled : " Mohammed et la fin du monde."* It is a very original piece of work.

Briefly, the author's thesis is as follows : The age foretold by Daniel and Christ being accomplished, Mahomet was the last prophet chosen by God to preside—in conjunction with the Messiah who had returned to earth for the purpose—at the end of the world, the universal resurrection, and the last judgment. On Mahomet's death it was necessary that the intimate connection, announced by the Prophet in the Koran between his coming and the end of the world, should be either dissimulated or denied, if the new religion was not to be annihilated. It is to this pious fraud that we owe the Koran of Abou-Bekr and of Othman. The Koran of Mahomet is, therefore, an apocalyptic book which has been altered by those who first collected and published it (Abou-Bekr and Othman) to do away with what is its most authentic basis. We will not discuss this paradoxical thesis, which is open to many objections.

H. Carbou's second volume on " La région du Tchad et du Ouadaï"† has not long ago been published. It is in two parts: in the first the author speaks of the Arab populations of that district; in the second he treats of the

* Paris: P. Geuthner, 1911.

† Paris: E. Leroux, 1912 (with a map). For notice on vol. i., see our Report, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1912.

Ouadai (history, inhabitants, government, administration). The work, which is excellent, is full of judicious observations, a particularly interesting one being that made on the astonishing spread of the Arabic language in Africa, especially in the northern part of the continent. Arabic is so widespread in the Tchad region, it appears, that it has become the common tongue of all the natives of this part of Africa.

There exists at Lyons in the *faculté de droit* at the University an Oriental seminary for juridical and social studies. This seminary is publishing, under the direction of Ed. Lambert, professor at the *faculté de droit*, and former head of the Khedival School of Jurisprudence at Cairo, a series of juridical studies, the authors of which—all or nearly all—belong to Arabic-speaking countries, or to districts where the civilization is Islamic. The first volume of the collection, which has as its subject "La doctrine Musulmane de l'abus des droits,"* is by Mahmoud Fathy, *docteur en droit, avocat au tribunal* de Beni-Souëf (Egypt). The work is preceded by a long and extremely interesting introduction by E. Lambert, initiating us into the methods and spirit of the seminary under his direction, and analyzing Mr. Fathy's work.

We cannot here give details of this important juridical study; it will be enough if, to draw to it the attention of specialists, we characterize briefly the two parts of which it is composed.

In the first, the author studies the relations between the Mussulman theory of the abuse of rights, and the comparative legal usages in the occident, and also contemporary Egyptian jurisprudence. It is a profound study of comparative law.

Part II. is devoted to the historical development of the Mussulman theory of the abuse of rights. Starting from the Koran, the author points out in the Koran the germs of the theory of the abuse of rights; then with great mastery

* Lyon : H. Georg ; Paris : P. Geuthner, 1913.

of his subject sets out the development of the different juridical schools of Islam, all of which is of the highest interest.

We greet with joy the work which has been initiated by Mr. Lambert; it will help, with other works undertaken in the same spirit, to bring Europe and Islam closer together. It is important that they should thus be brought closer together, and nothing can better contribute to that end than that Europeans should learn more of Islam, and Musselmen more of Europe. The work done by the seminary at Lyon is an excellent step in this direction.

H. L. M. Nicholas has begun a translation of the "Béyan,"* which has sometimes been called "the Bible of the Bâb." Here the very competent translator shows in an introduction the nature of the evolution of the Bâb and his educational methods, which consist in leading his disciples from Islam to a superior revelation.

* "Le Béyan Persan," vol. i. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1911.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR."

AN event recently took place at Geneva which will be of interest to readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. On March 6, before a large audience, Professor Edouard Montet—to whom we are indebted for our "Quarterly Report on Oriental Studies"—gave, as president of a meeting held under the auspices of the Alliance Ottomane Universitaire, a discourse on "Islam and the Turkish People." Professor Montet's speech was a timely one, for in Switzerland—as, indeed, elsewhere—the Press has been too partial in favouring the Balkan allies, while the Turkish people have been badly treated and misunderstood. It was right that someone should protest—"au nom de la vérité historique et de la justice"—against the public attitude in this matter; and we are happy to be able to give the following summary of Professor Montet's remarks, which have been widely reported in the Turkish and Egyptian Press.—ED. *A.Q.R.*

ISLAM AND THE TURKS.

WHEN two peoples are at war, public opinion in neighbouring countries finds it difficult to do justice to the vanquished. Every trait in the latter's character is taken as contributing to his downfall, and matters are made responsible for his defeat which have of all things the least to do with it.

It is thus that the Mussulman religion has been pilloried as a cause of Turkey's downfall. Some have even gone further, and in visiting on the Turkish nation the faults and even the crimes of a régime which has passed away, have neglected to do homage to the virtues of a people so stricken by misfortune and disaster that there has even been talk of its death-agony.

It is truly amazing, after the many intimate relations which have of late years existed between Europe and Islam, and despite all that has been done by the most competent authorities to inform the public mind, that so

much prejudice still exists regarding the Mussulman religion. There is so much misapprehension, that many hold Islam—both as a people and a religion—to be opposed to all progress, rebellious towards modern civilization, look upon it, in a word, as the instrument of an anti-European reaction. Nothing could be further from the mark.

To maintain that Islam is not a religion of civilization is to ignore the part which that religion has played in history. Here are three facts which should not be forgotten :

1. Mahomet was a great moral and religious reformer. Before his time Arabia was plunged in barbarism ; morality there was the morality of inferior races (unlimited polygamy and divorce, possibility for the father of a family to get rid of his daughters at birth by burying them alive, etc.). As to the religion then existing, it was a coarse fetishism—a mass of vulgar superstitions indicative of a very low religious level.

2. In the Middle Ages, while Europe was as yet sunk in the darkness of ignorance (I use advisedly this classic term), Arab civilization was at the zenith of its brilliance. One has but to recall the Ommiad and Abassid Caliphates, and Spain under Arab domination. It was through Arab savants that Europe at that time had some little acquaintance with Greek science and philosophy.

3. From its origin down to our own days Islam has never ceased to spread monotheism among the polytheists of Asia and the fetish-worshippers of Africa.

To maintain that Islam is not a religion of civilization is also to disregard the present condition of Mussulman populations.

Mankind everywhere is being borne along on the great current of modern civilization, which is essentially the work of the peoples of Europe and America. This civilization is characterized above all by scientific discovery, by which modern life is daily undergoing modification.

This scientific character of our civilization has had unlimited influence upon the development of industry and

commerce on the one hand, and upon political and social institutions on the other. Mussulman peoples, too, have been launched irresistibly on this stream of modern civilization, and under the stress of this imperious force, imposed upon them from without; they are being driven forward to their emancipation, to liberation from the yoke of tradition, to acceptance of the principles underlying this new civilization—principles extremely rich in their consequences and their application.

That is why on all sides there have been formed in Islamic countries political parties of liberal views, particularly in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia.

That is why great progress is being made in Islam from an economic point of view, principally in Turkey and Egypt, to such an extent that there have been founded in Mussulman countries co-operative societies and workmen's unions for the working of mines and the building of railroads.

That is why, too, the Mussulman Press has developed so enormously. This Press had its origin about 1825. In 1900 it numbered hardly 200 papers; in 1907 there were 500 dailies and periodicals of one sort or another; at the present time the total is over 1,000. Here, again, Turkey and Egypt take the lead.

And that is why, finally, higher education, as we understand it, is also making steady advance throughout the Islam of to-day. First I will mention the Mussulman College at Aligarh in British India, founded by a Muslim in 1875, which recently had as many as 500 students. Then there are the higher *Medersas* in Algeria, founded by the French Government at Algiers, Oran, and Constantine for the higher education (Arab and French) of the natives. In Tunis there are similar establishments. And, finally, there is the Egyptian University at Cairo, founded in the same modern spirit in 1909.

Much might be said about the institutions of various sorts which have been founded, also in a truly modern spirit (hospitals, anti-Arabic institutions, scientific associa-

tions), especially in Turkey ; but I desire to draw attention mainly to two very much discussed points : morals and religion.

As to morals, I will formulate my thought thus : If it be incontestable that the Mussulman peoples are dependent upon the Christian peoples from the scientific or industrial point of view, they are by no means inferior to them from the moral point of view.

Polygamy (the chief point of objection to Islam) is on the decrease. In liberal Mussulman circles monogamy is becoming the rule. The Persian-Islamic reform of the Bāb is, from the moral point of view, in principle monogamic ; the Bāb restricts divorce to limits so narrow as almost to amount to its complete abrogation. Abdul Baha, of whom so much is heard at the present time, and who is the most prominent representative of Bahaism (an offspring of Bābism), puts forward as part of his programme monogamy and the emancipation of woman. I know personally many monogamous Mussulmen (orthodox, liberal, or schismatic).

Mussulmen have preserved very much alive certain moral qualities, which are often weakened among ourselves by thirst for private gain, love of luxury, and by that feverish activity for which many find a way of expression in politics, in science, etc., or simply in the search for pleasure, and the practice of sport. These qualities, which the Turks possess in a high degree, are charitableness, kind-heartedness, hospitality, love of one's fellows, and an eagerness to be of service, or even merely agreeable, to them. To all of these points testimony is borne by Europeans innumerable who have lived in Islamic countries.

Nor from a religious point of view are Mussulmen inferior to us Christian peoples. Indeed, the Mussulman is often more pious than the Christian.

Islam and Christianity have had similar destinies ; the same course of development, schism, sects, orthodoxy, and liberalism. Two facts should not be forgotten at this

point. The first is that Islam is the world's great propagator of monotheism. The second is that there are more affinities than might seem between Islam and Christianity, and, above all, anti-trinitarian or liberal Christianity. Islam proclaims the unity of God, and professes a great reverence for the person of Jesus Christ.

Bâbism, which is an attempt to reform Islam, is closely connected with the Persian schism, or schismatic Islam. Bahâism, sprung from Bâbism, and strongly influenced by Christianity—Bahâism, which in the Orient, in America, and in Europe has gained several millions of adherents, forms a kind of bridge between Islam and Christianity. This will show how wide of the mark it is to speak of the immobility of the Mussulman peoples.

What conclusions are to be drawn from these considerations? First and foremost, that Islam, far from being an immovable block, is, from every point of view, well on the way of progress.

Secondly, that Islam, in regard to religion, is a moral and spiritual power of high value.

To set Islam aside without consideration as being incapable of collaborating in the work of modern civilization would therefore be to do it grave insult.

Let us, then, wherever we can, work with Mussulmen in the endeavour to establish a better state of society, a better government, and thereby a better fatherland. But let us not forget that for this collaboration to be really fruitful we should show to Mussulmen in general, and to the Turkish nation in particular at the present moment, our esteem and our sympathy.

ED. MONTET.

"THE ULCER OF EMPIRE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,—

I wish to correct an error in the article "The Ulcer of Empire: a Reply," by "Middle Temple," which ap-

peared in your number of April last. At p. 259 of this article, "Middle Temple" says: "After which reflection 'Ignotus' pens a passage containing a germ of hope. Can it be he himself is, or was, a Civilian Judge, or, perchance, did 'Ignotus' desire to be one, and fail to achieve his ambition? So confidently does he describe the abundance of their virtues and the richness of their intelligence that the inquiry is forced upon one."

I know "Ignotus" very well, and can assure "Middle Temple" that "Ignotus" is not, and never was, a Civilian Judge. Nor did he ever desire to be one, or fail to achieve his ambition. "Ignotus" has served in India; but has never held, or aspired to, any judicial or legal office. He belonged to a totally different department. Nor, I may add, is he a disappointed litigant. His motives are entirely disinterested.

I am, yours faithfully,

R. F. FULTON.

7, SLOANE GARDENS, S.W.

April 24, 1913.

A 'FAMOUS DELHI INSCRIPTION.'

The 'Amal Šālih, a large manuscript biography of Shah Jahan,* states that the verse which says

"If there be Paradise on earth, 'tis here, 'tis here, 'tis here,"

is by Amīr Khusrau.

Can anyone tell me in which of his poems it occurs?

The inscription is, or was, in the Diwān Khāṣ at Delhi, and is thus Englished by Eastwick:

"If on earth be an Eden of bliss,
It is this, it is this, none but this."

I remember General Haughton telling me that the inscription had a place in the Palace at Cabul.

I may add here that the 'Amal Šālih contains pages and pages of description of the buildings erected by Shah Jahan at Delhi, and also gives the date of the erection

* India Office MS., No. 857, being vol. ii., p. 173^b, of Ethé's Catalogue, No. 332.

of Jahān Ārā's mosque at Agra, and a statement of the circumstances under which it was built. One specially praiseworthy fact is mentioned. It is that the owners of the site of the mosque were compensated for being deprived of their land. Those who wanted payment in money received it, and those who declined to take it got other land in exchange. The manuscript also gives, vol. i., 246, the inscriptions which ran round the base of the Peacock Throne. They were by the famous poet Qudsī, and they were in green enamel.

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE SUPPRESSED DEBATE ON THE INDIAN COTTON EXCISE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,

I have no desire to draw the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* into a controversy on the English fiscal question, but I should just like to enter a formal protest against Sir Roper Lethbridge's incidental assertion* that Mr. Lloyd George was responsible for Mr. Clark's appointment to the Viceroy's Council.

I cannot pretend that I know the whole "truth about" that surprising move, but I have evidence, which (as Sir Roper knows) I am bound to accept, that, far from having pitchforked his private secretary into the appointment, Mr. Lloyd George was most unwilling to lose his services; and that it was Lord Inchcape who was actually responsible for selecting him, whether as a champion of Free Trade or not I have no means of judging.

It seems to me to be a mistake to ruffle the austere calm of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* with these party attacks, especially when they are not very relevant to the subject under discussion.

Yours truly,

June 17, 1913.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

* April, 1913, p. 239.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE EASTERN HIMALAYAN STATES OF SIKHIM, BHUTAN, AND TIBET.

By J. C. WHITE, C.I.E.

THE Eastern Himalayan States of Sikhim, Bhutan, and Tibet are so little known to the general British public that the spelling of the names is by no means settled; some drop the *h* in Bhutan, while others add an *h* to Tibet. Even the derivation and meaning of the names is in doubt, none of them being understood by actual natives, who speak of Dug, Dejong, and Bod-yul when referring to Bhutan, Sikhim, and Tibet. The former may mean "far removed" (from China), and Budh "the outer," whilst Dejong may mean the "country of rice," and the other name Sikhim may be derived from Sukhim, "the new house," thus betokening the fact that Sikhim embraced Buddhism some centuries after the other two did. All these countries practice Buddhism at the present time, though in a very debased and superstitious form, which might be more correctly styled "Lamaism." This cult is an extremely lazy one, most of the religious ordinances being performed by deputy or by mechanical means. The service in their churches, which have a nave, aisles, chancel, and side chapels, is intoned by the abbot and prior. Portions, corresponding to the Psalms, are sung by

priests to Gregorian chants accompanied by music of bells, flageolets, trumpets, and drums. Incense is burned, but the layman takes no actual part in the service. Unlike our churches, refreshments are served to the ministering priests without interruption of the service, and laymen may contribute and partake of this collation. By turning a wheel, or prayer cylinder, containing hundreds of prayers written or printed on slips of paper by some holy man, and by mumbling "Onz Mani padmi hum," you may credit yourself with countless prayers; in fact, you can pray without ceasing at no inconvenience to yourself. Or if this is too much trouble, you can employ an old woman at twopence a day to turn for you and to your credit the gigantic wheels that contain thousands of prayers. You can erect such wheels to be worked by water-power, or small ones to be worked by hot air from the candle you burn on the altar. The former is somewhat uncertain, as someone may divert your stream. Also care must be taken to turn the prayer-wheel in the right direction—viz., with the sun. There are many other means of having prayers said for you, but I have said sufficient for one afternoon.

Sikkim and Bhutan lie next each other on the south of the Great Himalayan range and receive the full force of the North-East Monsoon, their valleys and hill-sides up to 13,500 feet are covered with dense and luxuriant vegetation, their rivers are torrential and run in deep-cut V-shaped gorges, and the views looking up these gorges of the eternal snow are some of the grandest sights to be seen anywhere in the world.

On the slopes of the hills are villages and farms, and many of the heights are crowned by monasteries and old feudal castles, some perched on inaccessible cliffs, others commanding strategic points of great natural strength.

In travelling towards Tibet the hot damp valleys of the lower countries have first to be passed through; we then come to the temperate Zone, still damp and with, in the rains, almost perpetual mist, and emerging from which we

reach the higher and broader valleys clothed with pine, fir, and rhododendron where the climate is delightful. We finally, after crossing the outer heights of the Southern Himalaya range, come into the dry and treeless uplands. These high-lying valleys are very wide and flat with a wind always blowing but there are fine views of the snow-peaks to the south. Passing onwards we come to the so-called Tibetan plains, which by contrast to the deep defiles and stupendous mountains we have come through seem almost flat. As a matter of fact they slope gradually to the north for a considerable distance and are intersected by range upon range of mountains. Immediately to the north of the Southern Himalayas the rainfall ceases almost entirely and does not exceed 4 to 5 inches annually. These plains, which are from 15,000 to 16,000 feet elevation, are treeless, and only yield a scanty crop of grass of a coarse though nourishing kind, but so sparse is this that a flock of sheep grazing have the appearance of being in flight as those in the rear are continually running on ahead to reach some of the uneaten tufts. Moving still onwards, the ranges again concentrate in the Central range of the Himalayas and the roads run through deep-cut valleys.

The nature of the country, till the Gyantsi Valley is reached, is arid, with scarcely any vegetation. In the Gyantsi Valley, however, at 13,000 feet, the crops of barley, wheat, peas, beans, turnips, and mustard, grown by an extensive system of irrigation work, are excellent.

On the central range the nearly dissipated monsoon current again concentrates and descends in heavy thunderstorms, which keep some grass growing, but flood all the watercourses and bring down immense quantities of débris.

Proceeding again northwards, after passing the same kind of country for some fifty miles, the Yamdok Tso is reached, one of the numerous Tibetan lakes with no outlet. This lake lies at an elevation of 15,600 feet. In former days there was an outlet down to the Tsang-po, but desiccation is proceeding apace, and the remains of former lake

shores are in evidence 300 feet above the present level, and the former outflowing river is dry. The scenery on this lake is magnificently beautiful, and the lake reflects all the moods of the atmosphere which succeed one another at times very quickly. I have seen it rough and glowering under dark storm-clouds, and again reflecting every cloud and mountain in its turquoise opalescent surface.

On reaching the Tsang-po (11,000 feet) vegetation and crops are again met with, and some of the clumps of poplar and willow were exceedingly pleasant to sit in after the bare heights we had travelled over.

Cultivation and occasional plantations occur till Lhasa is reached, and the general view of the Polala and town gives the idea of being planted in a well wooded park.

The Polala dominates everything and is a magnificent pile of buildings set on a sharp ridge. It is an immense building, or rather conglomeration of buildings, with thousands of rooms and surmounted by gilded roofs whose glitter in the clear atmosphere attracts attention from many miles distant.

The town is mainly built of granite blocks, and though not clean was not nearly so dirty as I had expected. Many of the temples are very interesting and filled with valuable articles, such as gold and silver butter lamps, altar furniture, and images studded with turquoise and precious stones. On the return journey I take you through another part of Tibet and past the inland lake of Pho-mo-chang-thang to the Lhalung Monastery and the Lhakhang Jong and again through the outer Himalayas to Bhutan and the plains.

My slides will show you something of the nature of these three countries which differ considerably, and for more detailed description I must refer you to my book "Sikkim and Bhutan." Before closing, however, I would like to show you types of the people who live in these countries, who, though allied and of Mongolian origin, differ much in character and features—namely, the Lepcha, Bhutea, Tibetan, and Bhutanese.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Tuesday, March 18, 1913, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, at which a lantern lecture was delivered by John Claude White, Esq., C.I.E., entitled, "Sikhim, Bhutan and Tibet." In the absence of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., P.C., the chair was occupied by Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present : Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I., Surgeon-General Sir Benjamin Franklin, K.C.I.E., Major-General Sir Thomas and Lady Graham, Lady Pearson, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. H. R. Cook, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Dr. Durham, Mrs. J. C. White, Mr. G. Huddleston, C.I.E., Mr. G. Selvic, Mrs. Furnell, Mrs. Raikes, Miss Whipham, Mr. F. W. Barber, Mr. M. B. Tyabji, I.C.S., Mr. S. J. Douglas, I.C.S., Miss Harris, Mrs. Bean, Mr. H. D. Ellis, Mrs. Eastburn, Miss Webster, Mr. Sada Ram Thind, Miss Towsey, Mr. S. Hadwyn, Colonel Stuart, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Rosher, Miss Van Straubenzee, Mrs. Beverley, Mr. W. Coldstream, Dr. Wherry, Miss Ellis, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Jones, Mrs. Westlake, Mr. F. S. Mirza, Mr. and Mrs. W. Corfield, Miss Corfield, Mr. and Mrs. G. Southby, Miss Southby, Miss Stanhope Jones, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Hendricks, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. C. S. Campbell, I.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. Keene, Miss Huntholly, Mr. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. J. M. Mehta, Mr. A. N. Butt, Colonel Cleather, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Captain Rolleston, Miss Massey, Mrs. White, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., The Misses de Thoren, Miss Brownfield, Mr. Mark B. F. Major, Mr. and Mrs. A. Stewart Buckle, Mr. H. M. Gibbs, The Misses Gibbs, Miss Aveling, Mr. C. Bradford, Mr. A. Barnabas, Mr. W. Stanley Green, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. Arthur H. Beavan, Colonel and Mrs. A. F. Laughton, Mrs. Mason, Miss G. Blackburn, Sir David Semple, Mrs. James Binnie, Miss Johnson, Mrs. Scott Dill, Mr. and Mrs. Murray Smith, Mrs. E. Gordon Farquharson, Mr. and Mrs. Arthus Bates, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The HON. SECRETARY: Our Chairman, Sir Mortimer Durand, unfortu-

nately has not yet arrived, so that meantime Sir Arundel T. Arundel has kindly consented to take the chair.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL : Ladies and gentlemen, it is a matter of great regret that Sir Mortimer Durand has not been able to be present. I am informed he is busily engaged on the life of Sir Alfred Lyall, and has the proofs before him, and is also preparing a paper for to-morrow. He has communicated with Dr. Pollen and told him that he was most anxious to be here, because he looks back with the greatest pleasure to the very happy time he spent with Mr. White in the regions about which we shall hear to-night, and he has promised to do his utmost to be here if he possibly can, and I hope sincerely he will not be prevented. Many of you have already heard Mr. White in this hall when he gave us a most interesting and instructive lecture, and the crowded attendance this evening shows that it has not been forgotten. I need say no more to introduce him, and I will now ask him to read his paper.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, then read the paper, illustrated with limelight photographs.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I think we are very much indebted to Mr. White for this extremely interesting paper, and for the excellent views which he has exhibited. For my part I should like to have taken about three or four times the length of time in seeing them that we have taken, and I should like to have discussed a good many of them, and to have asked a great many questions about what we have seen. Several things occurred to me whilst witnessing the views ; for instance, there was the question of those great inland lakes. One would like to know what is the cause of the desiccation which is in progress all over Central Asia beyond the Himalayas. Can it be due to a secular elevation of the Himalayan range which has been going on possibly for hundreds of thousands of years, and gradually shutting off the south-west monsoon from the regions to the north ? In one striking picture we were shown of a great Buddhist monastery, we were told there were no less than ten thousand lamas living in it. The building seemed to be placed amidst a desolate wild, and one would ask, how is the food provided for this large population, not only in that case, but also in many others, in those bare, desolate plateaus ? In some cases I understand there is a certain amount of cultivation ; but how food can be provided for thousands of priests, who have apparently no occupation at all, except to say their prayers and go through their ecclesiastical functions, is a puzzle. Again, among all the pictures of the Tibetan plateau not a single timber tree was to be seen, except possibly some willows. Where did the monks get all their wood to build the doors and roofs and make the carved panels of the shrines and monasteries ? If the timber has to be fetched from a great distance, how is it transported, because apparently the first cart in the country was brought up by Mr. White himself ? Then there was the question of the building itself. Was all the stone cut locally ? Had they carpenters and stone-masons there, etc., and if so, where did they come from ? One of the great lamas appeared to have what was very much like a Papal tiara on his head. Where did this curious design originate ? Mr. White mentioned

that some of the lamas were dressed in the richest Chinese silks. Where did the money come from, or the wealth for exportation, to enable them to get all those silks? As far as one can see, there does not seem to be a large working population, and nothing could be got from poverty-stricken shepherds, of whom we saw two who were dressed in very ragged and dirty costumes, which we are told they wear until they fall off! Sir Richard Temple, who has spent some time in the Himalayan region, is here, and will be able to tell us something about the places from personal knowledge. I have great pleasure in calling upon him to address the meeting.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is generally my misfortune to be called upon at a moment's notice to make a speech, and to talk about all sorts of abstruse subjects without any warning. If I have any right to speak to-day it will be because previous speakers have mixed me up with my father, who was for a long time in the regions described by Mr. White, and that a great many years ago I edited a diary made by my father in those regions, in connection with which I had to make a very elaborate map of Sikkim. I was accordingly much struck by the first slide shown to-day as accurately describing the geography of that country, which consists of deep valleys of a V-shape formed by its rivers. Another reason for being allowed to speak to-day is, as some of you may know, I have been editing the *Indian Antiquary* for about thirty years, and in that paper we have published a great many papers on Tibet, and some upon Bhutan and Sikkim. Although I cannot honestly say I have read the whole of them, I certainly have read a good many, because some were written by Germans, and I had therefore to see their meaning was correctly placed before the English-speaking public. This, of course, gave me a certain amount of insight into the Tibetans and their manners. I should like to add to the many questions already asked of Mr. White, and that is about the formation of the buildings he has shown us. He said that their particular form came from Egypt. I should like to know, and it would be of interest to this audience to know, how this can be proved, because there is one thing to be said about this particular way of erecting buildings whose walls are not perpendicular and whose doors and windows are made to slope inwards. The earliest form of stone architecture in India is of that very type, and it has been supposed that that particular type of building arose out of an attempt to build in stone what was originally built in wood, and when you see a wooden building in the very early style, you will find the base is invariably larger than the top. It is a well-known feature of architecture that when man turned from building in wood to building in stone, in the first instance he always copied a wooden building. It takes a long time for human beings to get from one material to another. For instance, when people began making iron carriages, they first of all began by copying a wooden carriage in iron, and finally finding that it was unsuited for the purpose, they evolved what is now the modern railway carriage. This is one of the most interesting points the lecturer brought out. We have had in the pictures a great number of really magnificent buildings. There can be no question of that. The monastery at Lhassa is quite as fine as anything of the kind we have

in Europe, and I think it would be of interest to know whether it can be proved that that came from Egypt—through Assyria, I suppose, and then through Central Asia into Tibet—or whether it is a survival of the ancient Indian building. If the lecturer can tell us as to this for certain it would be advancing science. The many slides he has shown are not only rare, but of exceedingly great educational value. I have pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks which I presume our Chairman has proposed to the lecturer.

MR. CHISHOLM : I am certain we must all have felt the greatest delight in seeing these beautiful pictures of Tibet. The temple in Lhassa, I think, is a particularly fine specimen of art ; the grand simplicity of the structure, and the wonderful Greek feeling about it, is to me an astonishing revelation. The point I want to direct attention to is the sloping walls and door jambs to which Sir Richard Temple referred. Did these sloping walls really come from Egypt, or did they go there ? I do not think anyone can settle that point definitely yet. In connection with this I should like to mention that the oldest cave in India—at Barabur, near Gya—has the doorway sloping in exactly the way pointed out. The date accepted for that cave, generally is about the fourth century, but I believe myself that it is much earlier. Many of these caves may have been excavated long before the Christian era, but later workers altering them slightly left their own mark upon them, and only too frequently we seem to accept the date of the marks left instead of the possible date of the original work. The question is whether there was not a common source for all architecture both in the East and in the West. That source was not, I think, Egypt. It is almost impossible to say where architecture came from, because all remains have been removed from the face of the earth ; but looking at the question from a general point of view, one might almost put the finger down on some such place as Sikkim or Lhassa and trace this feature of sloping walls thence into Egypt instead of from it. As Sir Richard Temple told us, when architecture changed from wood to its lithic form it always took the characteristics of the wood, which has, alas ! perished. I only wish I could throw some light on this most interesting point. I trust someone present may be able to do so, and give us some firmer foundation for tracing the general source of architecture from West to East.

The CHAIRMAN : If no other gentleman wishes to speak, I will ask the lecturer to reply.

The LECTURER : Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, one of the questions I was asked was about the drying up of Central Asia. That is very difficult to answer. There is no doubt it is going along all the interior. Villages by the score have been deserted. As soon as you get out of the monsoon current desiccation appears to be in progress. It is difficult to say whether the Himalayas have really risen so as to prevent the monsoon currents from passing ; there is no doubt that the rainfall on the Bengal side is very great, anything from 300 inches, but when you reach the northern side of the snows there is very little drop. My own opinion is that the Himalayas have risen slowly, but it is very difficult to prove. All the lakes show traces of having been very much higher at some period. The

next question was about the lamas. They are kept entirely by the State-fed, clothed, and housed—and are therefore a drain in every way on the country; they do nothing for their own livelihood—they do not even cultivate; they do nothing in the way of either architecture or beautifying their monasteries. They simply live, and are fed, and repeat religious formulae. There are very few lamas amongst them who do anything in return for this. I can find very little information about the "Om mani padme ham"; it is simply so many words strung together, which have taken the form of a prayer, and very difficult to translate. You can take all the words separately, and they make no sense. They have been translated as 'O the Lotus and the Jewel!'

As to the question of the timber, a great deal comes from the south of the Himalayas, and some from the eastern part of Tibet, where you again get rain and deep valleys. There are poplars round about Lhassa which make very good timber, and many of the trees are 3 feet to 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, so that a very fair plank can be cut out of them. The stone-work is all procured locally; the granite splits into very fair cubes or rectangles, and this is done almost entirely by cutting well-chosen lines in the turf into the sizes required, and then splitting the stone along these cuts. The Lhassa artificers are very good builders and metal-workers. Most of the specimens of silver and gold work which I saw in their monasteries are made entirely by local people, but not by the lamas. As to the silks mentioned, I think they were originally presents which have been sent from time to time from China to the Dalai Lama big monasteries; these again have been sold or given by them as presents to the smaller monasteries. There is a good deal of wealth in Tibet, however. Gold in places is very plentiful, and nuggets weighing from 10 to 16 rupees in weight have been found. The question of architecture I am unable to answer. I have not made a study of the question, but in looking at the different buildings there is a certain resemblance between the buildings in Tibet and Bhutan to the buildings in Egypt, and the opinion of Sir George Birdwood is that it came there through the Akkadians, the Chaldeans, and the Assyrians through Central Asia to these remote fastnesses in the hills.

(Applause.)

The SECRETARY: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, our Chairman has informed me that he did not propose a vote of thanks, and therefore we must take it that Sir Richard Temple was the person who proposed it. It thus falls upon me to second that proposition of a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for his lecture and for the beautiful views he has shown us. There seems to be some doubt about the origin of the designs of the beautiful buildings we have been gratified by being allowed to see, and I cannot help thinking that the remark of Mr. Chisholm's about the marks left by the last person being taken as the original may account in some way for the habit some people have of scribbling their names on ancient monuments in the hope possibly that hereafter these magnificent buildings may be attributed to them. (Laughter.) I have recently been reading about the happy time on this earth when the woman was all-in-all and the man was hardly anything at all; when the woman had it all their

own way and the mother and the wife were supreme, and the husband was only a kind of day-labourer that the female employed. That was a very happy time before the days of Adam! We have not improved things, I am afraid, since then, and apparently we are gradually going back to that time when the woman once again will be all-in-all and the man hardly anything at all. It was, perhaps, from these ancient times that we obtained our original architectural designs. I heard only yesterday that someone has opened the head of the Sphinx in Egypt, and they may have discovered all kinds of things there, and probably will find the clue to the origin of these monasteries, the views of which we have seen. I myself have an idea that all our ancient arts and architecture came from a place called "Atlantis," and there I think you will find they knew how to build on the model of the wooden buildings to which Mr. Chisholm has referred. I have now great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer, and I think I am expressing the feelings of the audience when I say we have thoroughly enjoyed the beautiful views, and, in addition to that, we are deeply grateful to him for the way in which he illustrated the pictures in words. He made us feel as if we were really there enjoying the delights of the pictured surroundings. Before I conclude I may say that Sir Mortimer Durand especially regrets not being able to be here this evening, because he has most delightful recollections of the jolly times he spent in camp with the lecturer and Mrs. White going over those regions that have been so well described to us this evening. (The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation, and the lecturer suitably replied.)

THE RELATION OF THE CURRENCY
TO THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS
OF INDIA.

By MARK B. F. MAJOR.

WHEN it was suggested to me that I should read a paper on "Currency" before your Association, I doubted very much if I could do so to any good purpose; for I am not directly acquainted with India, and it seemed to me at first that it would be difficult for me under these circumstances to say anything of value to those who have to consider the currency problem from the special standpoint of India.

But as I thought the matter over, I came gradually to believe that in approaching the consideration of the currency question as affecting any country the matter of chief importance is that there should be a clear understanding as to what the purposes and functions of currency are, and that, to arrive at this, it is necessary to follow out why and how currencies arise.

It seemed to me that, with the bed-rock principles once firmly established, it would be possible for each country to apply them as a test to ascertain how far their system conformed to the principles, and what reforms are needed to bring principles and existing facts into harmony with each other.

I decided, therefore, to endeavour to deal with the question, and to approach it from the broad general standpoint, confessing in doing so that I am indebted to the

writings of the late Cecil Balfour Phipson for most of my knowledge of the subject, and that I shall quote from those writings freely and extensively.

Before the subdivision and specialization of labour takes place there is no need for currency, as families are self-dependent, producing their own food and such home manufactures as their state of civilization makes possible.

Currency originates with merchants, who are a subdivision of the class which has separated itself from food production, and a little consideration will show how complete this separation becomes in civilized communities. The power of this class to produce specialized manufactures gradually outstrips the power of local food-producers to absorb the whole of their products in exchange for surplus food.

The function of merchants is to acquire the surplus manufactures from the non-food-producers, or other-workers, as I will call them, and to dispose of them at a distance where the market is not glutted with their particular products. They can only do this by giving something in exchange, and what the other-workers will at first require will be the local food products, of which the merchant must, therefore, have a store. But, appetite once satisfied, their desires for a variety of other things will increase. With the growth of these desires it becomes difficult for the individual merchant to keep in stock the different commodities that the other-workers may desire in exchange for their specialized product, while the other-workers, on their side, may not wish to take any definite article in exchange at the particular moment if they can safely defer doing so to a later date.

At this stage, therefore, it will be an obvious convenience to both merchants and wage-earners if the merchants can give the wage-earners a token of their indebtedness to them (the wage-earners) which the latter know they will be able to exchange, broadly speaking, for whatever they may desire.

It should be clear, from what has been said, that the primary purpose of a currency is to facilitate the sale of what is not food for food. The next purpose, of great, although of only secondary, importance, is to facilitate exchanges between commodities other than food, in fulfilling which purpose far more currency will be employed than for the former. The extreme importance of the primary purpose, and its bearing on the whole question of a true currency system, will appear later on. At present the purpose of facilitating exchanges is the one to be made clear.

The giving of the token of indebtedness is, of course, easy enough to accomplish, but the assurance that the token will always enable the recipient to gratify his desires to the full value of what he has handed over to the merchant—that it will always, in fact, retain purchasing power—is a far more difficult purpose to achieve. I need not enlarge on this difficulty, for it is patent to everybody that in early times, when communication between place and place was difficult and security for life and property was ill assured, to accept such a token from even the greatest merchant would be attended with a considerable element of risk, that, when the recipient wished to exchange it, he would find it had lost its exchange power and was valueless.

For instance, a wealthy merchant, known and trusted in his own locality, could give tokens signifying his indebtedness, and his willingness, whenever called upon to do so, to give any goods he had of an equivalent value to anyone who presented the tokens, and such tokens would, in course of time, circulate freely in the locality; but in any locality where the merchant was not known such tokens would not be accepted, because it would be difficult for people in the new locality to be sure that the promise implied by the token would be fulfilled, and also they might never be in the locality where the merchant lived so as to have an opportunity of presenting them. If, however, these tokens are valuable in themselves, these risks are obviated, so that

the use of metals for currency has come about, and the practical recognition by the State of its duty to furnish currency for the use of the people has come down to us from very early times.

As soon as they carried out this duty, merchants and those they traded with obtained the assurance that the money tokens would be current throughout the land ; but the pity is that Governments have not understood how they might regulate the issues of currency so that there would be no fear of fluctuations in its purchasing power. Instead they have kept it represented in name, but in little more than name, by one or another of the precious metals, so that they are now powerless to regulate correctly the issue, *and to the natural fluctuations of prices caused by true demand are added the bewildering variations of an unstable currency.*

When the merchant has purchased with money, he transports the goods to a distance, and in the simplest form of commerce he either exchanges them for the local products of the distant market, or, if he sells them first for money, he buys the products of the new locality with the money, brings them back to his own district, and sells them, if possible, for more than he gave for the goods he originally purchased, in which case he will have made a profit. Assuming that the sale is made in his own country, he can, of course, bring the money back instead of goods if he wishes ; but whichever way he works, his object is to obtain money in order to repeat the purchase of the products of his home district.

In what has been said I have endeavoured to give a brief outline of the methods adopted by merchants in making use of a currency system within the borders of their own country. For the sake of brevity, I can only just make passing reference to the development of home "acceptances," by means of which merchants can sell through one agent and buy through another, without having to send actual money to the latter, but only the selling agent's bill

of "acceptance." This "acceptance" represents the money realized for the merchant's goods by the selling agent, and when transferred to the buying agent the latter collects the money, and so is placed in funds with which to pay for the purchases which he makes on behalf of the merchant. The modern development of the "acceptance," in the shape of cheques, is so familiar to everyone that I need not dwell on it further.

When, as commerce extends, merchants commence to trade beyond the borders of their own country, their object is no longer the sale of the goods they export for money, as foreign money will not purchase goods at home. What they, then, require is to sell them for so much money as will enable them to purchase foreign goods of such a value that, when they import them into their own country, they will be able to sell them for more home money than they paid for the goods which they exported, after paying all expenses.

Such merchants are not troubled with the vexed question of "rates of exchange," and it is a matter of complete indifference to them what the foreign money is so long as it will buy them the foreign goods they want. For a rupee, for instance, has no natural relation whatever to a sovereign, the only natural measure of value being the amount of the chief food grain of the people that will be given for the article offered for sale. I understand that in India this is really recognized, because there it is customary to speak of "seers of rice to the rupee," instead of quoting the price of the rice in rupees.

In modern commerce, however, it is often one firm which chiefly exports and another which imports, and the exporter to India then sells his draft on India, expressed in rupees at an agreed rate of exchange, to a merchant who wishes to pay for goods in India and import them into this country.

Conducted in this way, international trade remains the exchange of goods for goods, and one of the great wrongs which arises under currencies which are intrinsically valuable, because based on the precious metals, is that the importer

has an alternative to the purchase of the exporter's drafts, so that instead of the international trade being of necessity an ultimate exchange of goods for goods, it can at times be the sale of goods for money—not necessarily money in the shape of coin, but of bullion, which, to all intents and purposes, is just as much money, as far as the purchasing nation is concerned, as if it was actually coined money.

It is no part of the purpose of this paper to show the grievous wrong to the world's civilization which results from this, but when the matter is carefully pondered over, it will gradually become apparent that, because the purchasing power of money composed of the same material in two countries is greater in the poor than the wealthy country, the ultimate result of international trade conducted on such a basis must be the survival of the *unfittest*.

The question to consider now is what the advantages are of a currency the material of which is valuable, compared with one the material of which is valueless. If once the danger of over-issue can be guarded against, and as long as the national institutions are so stable that all fear of a repudiation of the currency is out of the question, I believe you will come to agree with me that there are no advantages whatever, but, on the contrary, grave disadvantages.

A currency possessing intrinsic value cannot be regulated, but depends for its stability as a true register of values upon the chance that the supply of the metal will just equal the demand, a chance which experience teaches is rarely attained to in practice.

Currency is only needed as a *token* of value, but as soon as it is associated with a valuable material it ceases to be merely a token, and becomes a wasteful expenditure of resources.

Sufficient supplies of the material may run short, in which case the currency, while remaining nominally a valuable one, becomes in actual fact to a large extent a *token* currency, the wrong of this being that it professes to be one thing when in reality it is another. The harm of this to the community is exemplified by the recurring financial crises,

and times of monetary stringency to which the system gives rise.

It is cumbersome, and only gets rid of this disadvantage when it is divested of its intrinsic value and becomes a *token* currency.

Not one of these disadvantages apply in the case of a currency the material of which possesses no intrinsic value.

Coming now to that part of the question which is of chief interest to you—the bearing the currency has on the prosperity of India—it will be necessary to consider briefly what are the fundamental functions of Government.

They may be divided broadly into four distinct, but always interdependent, classes :

- (1) The political ; (2) the judicial ; (3) the economical ; (4) the social.

The political functions are those which are essential to the defence and extension of the State ; the judicial to the suppression and prevention of crime ; the economical to the production of food ; and the social to the health and conduct of the people.

All these are interdependent, and the ultimate aim of them all is to insure prosperous growth in the population, which therefore becomes the infallible test of success in the Government of the State.

It is unnecessary to deal with the carrying out of its political functions by the Government of India, as the peace which the country has enjoyed for so long is the best testimony to its success in this direction. But this success must tend towards a rapid increase in the number of the people, and therefore demands an efficient discharge of its economic functions by the Government, seeing that upon such discharge depends the increasing production and just distribution of food. To secure this, as well as a continuous but increasing supply of comforts, requires that the cultivators of the land who are the actual producers of food, shall be protected in secure possession of their *estates* in the land they cultivate.

Such *estates* eventually and invariably come to consist of

a *right of occupation and disposal of the land cultivated at a fixed produce rent*, a right, that is, to whatever surplus food remains after the fixed produce rent has been paid.

Unless it is recognized that rents are merely *fixed* quantities of produce, only commuted for the convenience of both payer and receiver into given sums of money, and that whatever surplus remains is the absolute property of the tenants, the latter cannot possibly provide themselves with a continuous and abundant supply of food, and so create a prosperous agriculture, or make purchases of continuous and increasing supplies of comforts, and so create prosperous manufacturers. *Fixity in produce rents* is therefore the only solid foundation upon which can be built the permanent economic development of any people; for, while the payment of a fixed rent deprives no man of freedom, the exaction of increased rents reduces every tenant to serfdom.

But the exaction of increased rents requires the violation of the State's judicial functions by the enforcement of unjust laws or statutes, and whenever the Government is either directed by rent-receivers or is itself a large receiver of rent, such violation has always followed, until at length the principle of the rent-payer's assured "estate" in the land he occupies is completely lost sight of and forgotten.

Before, then, any Government—but I will now refer specifically to the Indian Government—can effectively discharge its economic functions, it must first effectively discharge its judicial functions by recognizing the nature and extent of every cultivator's interest or "estate" in the land he cultivates, and protect him from any and every form of a rise in his produce rent.

Does the Government of India do this?

The answer must be that, so far from doing so, the Indian Government, which is, I believe, the largest rent receiver in the country, not only makes such exactions persistently itself, but places all its forces at the disposal of any landlord or money-lender who wishes to act in the same way. As a necessary consequence the unfortunate cultivator is

stripped of everything but the barest subsistence even in good years, while in bad ones he is left no alternative to starvation but the charity relief works of the State.

But the "tenant right" thus denied by British statutes, has always underlain native customs as to land tenures in India and throughout the entire East, where fixity of tenure at fixed produce rents has been in the main the rule for centuries; and in China it is accepted as an axiom of Government that its land assessments must never be raised. Violations of this custom, where Governments have not insured justice for the weak from the oppression of the strong, are often resisted by force, and are always condemned by whatever public opinion exists; and it is in this respect that Indian custom is conspicuously just, and British statutes as conspicuously unjust.

For this, however, the Indian Government may hardly be blamed, seeing that not even any Western civilization inheriting its legal concepts from Rome has ever recognized (even in theory) that tenants, unprotected by written contracts, have any "estate" in the lands they cultivate. On the contrary, by all their statutes they deny the existence of such estate, declaring in effect that forced increases of produce rents, so far from being confiscations of the cultivator's property, merely result either from the Government intentionally enforcing (*a*) its "right" to increase assessments, (*b*) the "right" of the landlord to "unearned increments," (*c*) the "right" of the money-lender to contract debts, or from such "natural" fall in prices as automatically produces these three effects simultaneously.

This failure to understand the "rights" which the payment of rent creates is due to the conception of orthodox economists, who teach that rent arises from differences in the fertility of the soil; whereas, in its origin and in the main, rent has nothing to do with differences in the fertility of the soil, but arises from *increases in the purchasing power of given quantities of food (necessaries) over articles of*

manufacture (conveniences and comforts); for in any given place these articles *constantly fall in value* (*i.e.*, in the quantities of food that must be given for them) owing to (1) competition amongst manufacturers; (2) division of labour in manufacture; (3) improvements in machinery; (4) reduction in freights.

This increase in the purchasing power of food is, however, not due to any action of the landlords, but is simply due to the fact that those who cultivate the soil and produce a surplus of food to exchange for goods, enable the first great subdivision of labour to take place, which separates the other-workers from the food-producers; in doing which, while enabling the other-workers to live in greater comfort than themselves (the food-producers), they insure that gradually they, too, will share in that greater comfort, owing to the operation of the four causes just mentioned.

Indian custom has always opposed itself to the methods by which injustice obtains effect through British statutes and deprives tenant food-producers of this increase in comforts, for (1) it sets its face against increases in Government assessments; (2) it denies to landlords any right to raise their produce rents; (3) it wholly withheld from the money-lender his present power for evil by denying him any Government aid in the recovery of his loans; (4) it prevented movements in prices having their present grossly unjust effect upon produce contracts by preserving the payment of rents in kind, and not recognizing, still less enforcing, their payment in fixed sums of money.

It is, therefore, only by reverting to the mild and just principles underlying native customs in respect to land tenures, and forsaking the harsh and unjust ones which are the foundation of Roman law, that the Indian Government can faithfully discharge its judicial functions. Such reversion would require it to abstain absolutely and for ever (1) from raising its own assessment; (2) from enforcing rent-increases upon tenants; (3) from taking any part in the recovery of money-lenders' loans; (4) from compelling

the payment of fixed money rents unless and until it so regulates its currency as to make, on an average of years, *a fixed sum of money represent a fixed quantity of food.*

This last is the key to the solution of the whole vast problem of the relation of the currency of a country to the social and economic welfare of its people. By the efficient discharge of its judicial functions the Indian Government would not be required to do anything which now it leaves undone, but instead to cease from doing that which now it does. This cessation would be in complete agreement with the spirit of native custom, would immensely simplify the judicial functions of Government, and at the same time withdraw it from all co-operation in those economic wrongs, its participation in which now makes prosperity for the vast majority of its subjects a hopeless impossibility.

It has been stated that the economic functions of Government are to enable the people to provide themselves (1) with a constant and abundant supply of food ; (2) with a constant and increasing supply of comforts.

For the former purpose cultivators require two pre requisites—land and water. While commonly supplying these both together, Nature often provides them apart, leaving it to man to bring them together, and rewarding him with crop-returns many times larger in the latter case than in the former.

It rests with the Government of India, then, to provide such irrigation to meet the needs of an increasing population, the higher rents obtainable going far towards repaying, when they do not much more than repay, the cost of their provision.

The constant and increasing supply of comforts can only be obtained by cultivators when markets wherein they can buy manufactures are brought within their reach, and the manufactures sold therein constantly fall in value in relation to food.

But to seek for these dual requisites for progressive prosperity, Governments must first recognize the great

economic truth, that producers of food (provided they be free) *are the only true purchasers in the community* (all other classes being sellers or exchangers merely). At the very root, then, of successful government in the economic department, lies the provision of constantly increasing inducements for multiplying food-producers to raise larger and larger food surpluses for the purchase of manufactures, as only so can a growing urban population be maintained; while all such inducements are necessarily built upon *that assurance as to the ownership of the surpluses raised*, which such fixity in produce rents as we have just insisted on alone can give.

It still remains, however, for the Government to place the tenant-cultivator in a position to increase freely his production of surplus food.

This requires that he shall have perfect freedom to cultivate whatever crop he finds most advantageous, and such freedom is *incompatible with the collection of rents in kind*.

Whereas, therefore, security for tenant-cultivators demands fixity in produce-payments, progress in agriculture forbids the collection of rents in kind. From this deadlock there is but one means of escape—namely, the commutation of fixed produce-rents into fixed money payments, provided always that such fixed money payments continue to represent, on an average of years, the original quantities of produce. But this commutation invariably does take place whenever food prices remain stationary for any lengthened period, and the obligation to pay only fixed quantities of produce as rent is recognized. Obviously, therefore, the maintenance of stability in food-prices becomes the primary duty of the Government, and this stability depends upon a just regulation of the currency. Necessarily, therefore, *such a regulation of its currency as shall maintain stability in food-prices becomes the primary economic duty of every Government.*

When this is done, it still remains to offer the cultivators inducements strong enough to tempt them to undertake the

increased labour involved in the increased production of food surpluses, and these are supplied by the exhibition of manufactures such as satisfy needs already felt, or create new ones at values sufficiently low to induce cultivators to raise the surplus food necessary to purchase them.

Governments can achieve this mainly through the *constantly increasing facilities for transport* which, by stimulating competition between carriers and reducing freights, enables merchants to sell goods in any given market at constantly falling values, and to open up new markets ; and this, therefore, becomes the second great economic duty of Government. To do this requires the provision of more and better roads, railroads, canals, harbours, or of whatever other means for speedier and safer communication the progress of science may suggest and the revenues of Government permit, bringing about, as a consequence, the employment of a *constantly larger army of labourers and artificers*, and the payment of constantly larger sums for wages, and *the provision of those sums*.

It remains, therefore, to consider (1) how the currency may be so regulated as to insure stability in food prices ; (2) how money may be so provided as to pay for the needed facilities for transport.

The units of a barbarous currency are things *valuable in themselves*, and therefore more or less limited in number by their nature ; while those of a civilized currency are *merely tokens of value*, and limited in number only by the will of their issuers. The value of which the latter are tokens are fixed quantities of the chief food grain of the country, against which the tokens are exchanged in markets, it depending entirely upon the number of such tokens entering markets for exchange against such food-grain what is the *price* of the grain, and consequently the *value* of each token in that market. Thus, by *limiting the number of tokens entering markets*, so long as the supply of food in them continues normal, it is always possible to maintain the value of civilized currency units, and concomitantly any desired average in

food prices. Such units are, therefore, valuable, just in proportion to the quantity of food for which they will exchange in markets. The duty of Government, therefore, is to so regulate its issue of valueless money tokens, as to insure that on an average of years each token shall exchange against, and, therefore, represent when in circulation, a fixed quantity of food, which regulation will require the annual issue of tokens to be rigorously limited to whatever number experience proves to be necessary.

The larger, therefore, the quantities of food coming into market for the purchase of manufactures, the larger will be the number of currency units the Government must put into circulation in order to keep the value of each unit from rising and the price of food from falling; so that for the Government to stimulate the production of food surpluses is merely to take the easiest and most effective means of *increasing its own revenue without taxation.*

The Indian Government has already taken the first step towards securing such revenue, by converting its barbaric currency of silver coins circulating at *their market value as bullion* into a semi-civilized one of silver tokens, circulating at a currency-value one-third higher than their bullion value, such enhancement being effected by limitation of issue, and such excess of currency over bullion value being appropriated by the State as revenue. But this revenue has been acquired solely as an accidental accompaniment of an attempt to more nearly approximate the value of India's currency to that of a totally distinct and foreign currency unit (the British) with which the former has no legitimate connection, and to which it is disastrous to all its main economic interests to be tied.

The Indian Government has, therefore, taken this first step, not with the legitimate and beneficent purpose of maintaining the price of Indian food-grain, but with the illegitimate and mischievous one of maintaining stability in the rates of foreign exchange; while the revenue which it has obtained by so doing, instead of resulting in gain both

to itself and to its subjects, has imposed a burden upon the latter immensely greater than if exacted from them as taxes.

But the Indian Government can remedy the injury which it has caused through ignorance by merely taking one other step along the path of monetary reform upon which it has already entered, and gradually replacing its semi-civilized currency of silver tokens, each costing the State two-thirds of its currency value, by a wholly civilized currency of paper rupees, each costing the State practically nothing at all. It would thus solve all the seemingly insoluble problems that now so hopelessly confront it, for it would issue these paper rupees in just such numbers as would insure stability on an average, not in the rates of foreign exchange, but in the prices of home food, and thus give security to cultivators ; while it would *expend* these issues upon constantly increasing facilities for transport, and thus give prosperity to cultivators, manufacturers, and merchants, and all other legitimate economic classes.

Perhaps you will wish me to indicate how such a change would be carried out—what it would entail.

Only currency in circulation has any effect on food-prices, and in a prosperous country money is withdrawn from circulation as savings by the more thrifty of the community. It would be in the interests of the whole community for such savings to increase, as they would necessitate fresh issues of money to keep up the amount of currency in active circulation, and the Government would therefore have to do all in its power to facilitate the saving of money and to insure the safety of such savings.

This they would best be able to do by the establishment of a National Savings Bank with widespread branches, which, unlike existing banks, would not be trading banks, and would not, therefore, allow any interest on the deposits but would always have the depositors' savings represented by actual money, so that a failure of the bank would be impossible. Under a valueless currency cheques could

only be allowed to be drawn upon the National Bank. As a consequence, and because it is not within the power of existing banks ever to repay the deposits they owe in gold, the National Bank would have to take over their liabilities to customers, which would henceforth be payable in the national valueless currency, the banks remaining liable to the State until such time as they have repaid the entire amount. They would become simply money-brokers, and as such would occupy a position scarcely, if at all, inferior to their position as bankers.

Writing in 1903 Major Phipson estimated that the annual savings of 300,000,000 people of India would probably amount to Rs. 100,000,000. The annual increase in population he estimated at 3,000,000, and he put their money requirements at Rs. 10 a head, or Rs. 30,000,000, and he concluded, therefore, that a minimum of Rs. 130,000,000 would have to be issued by the Indian Government annually to keep the average price of wheat and rice from falling. How much more would be required to provide for (*a*) increased food supplies entering markets, (*b*) increased expenditure on comforts, (*c*) increased use of money owing to the disuse of illegitimate credits, he did not find it possible to estimate.

You will know better than I can tell you, how the Government could best put this currency into circulation for the economic advantage of the country by the construction of roads, railroads, canals, irrigation works, flood regulation, etc. In doing this they would give the people not alone the currency required by the economic needs (not desires) of the country, but also public works of inestimable value without any cost whatever.

I understand that already paper money circulates to some extent in India, so that by offering a small temporary discount on all assessments and, if need be, on all taxes paid in the new paper currency, it would speedily gain ready acceptance throughout the country.

It will be seen that I have not dealt directly with the

questions that have lately been so prominently before the public with respect to Indian currency.

I have merely endeavoured to lay before you in concise form the great leading principles left on record by the late Cecil Balfour Phipson—principles which, if I have done my part, will enable you who have intimate knowledge of India and her vast and, at least relatively, poor population to judge how far the present system has erred, unwittingly as I believe, from the path of justice, and, therefore, from the only path which can lead to ultimate national prosperity. If, owing to your kindness in giving me a hearing, you should be led to study those principles, and ultimately to prevail on our nation to apply them, you will in doing so erect a monument to the memory of a man who was lost sight of in his lifetime, because I believe Phipson will come to be hailed as one of the greatest human benefactors of his race, and, sooner or later, his name will be on every tongue wherever civilization runs, which ultimately must then be synonymous with every corner of the wide world.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall Westminster, on Monday, April 21, 1913, when a paper, entitled "The Relation of the Currency to the Social and Economic Progress of India," was read by Mark F. B. Major, Esq. In the temporary absence of the Chairman, Sir George Paish, the President of the Association, Lord Reay, introduced the lecturer. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Lesley C. Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Frank Gates, K.C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel D. Elcum, M.D., M.R.C.S., Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mrs. Bean, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. S. Hadwyn, Mr. Reginald Murray, Mr. F. H. Cook, Mrs. D'Arcy Hutton, Mr. W. Leighton Jordan, Mr. J. M. Mehta, Mr. M. V. Desai, Mr. N. Becker, Miss Ashworth, Mr. T. Stoker, Mr. M. B. Tyabji, I.C.S., Mr. S. M. Ahmed, Mr. Magan Lal, Mr. Francis Roeubaix, Mr. Young, Mr. T. G. Harper, Dr. Abdul Majid, Mr. K. J. Rustomjee, Mr. Sundara Raja, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. D. G. Cameron, Mr. Herbert Close, Mr. M. F. Dingwall, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

LORD REAY: Ladies and gentlemen, the lecturer, Mr. Major, will give us a paper on a most interesting, but, I am afraid, a rather abstruse subject. At the same time, his lecture is, in a sense, a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Cecil Balfour Phipson, whose volume, "Britain's Destiny: Growth or Decay," being outlines of "Redemption of Labour" and "The Science of Civilization" is edited by Mr. Major. I have not read it, but anyone who afterwards wishes to go more thoroughly into the subject of the lecture will be able to consult Mr. Phipson's volume. With these few words I beg to invite Mr. Major to give us his paper.

THE LECTURER: I feel it is rather rash of a man who has not been in India to attempt to read a paper on India, but I felt that there were some things which I might perhaps try to bring before you. I may say that as regards my own position in this matter, it is that of a disciple of a man who has passed away, and who has left his views on record for us, but whose views have been, I believe, neglected by our countrymen. To make my

position in the matter clear, it is this : when quite a youngster I remember seeing an advertisement which depicted that old fable showing the lion entrapped by the hunters, and at the foot was a little mouse, whose business it was to gnaw through the cords and free the lion. My position in this room is the position of the mouse gnawing away at the cords of blindness which have prevented our fellow-countrymen from appreciating what the late Major Phipson brought before them, and I would say this : that if in this discussion you demolish me absolutely and entirely, all you will do will be to drive me back into the entrenchments behind Major Phipson's works, and I shall say to you quite frankly, "Have you read his works?" because if you have not, you cannot judge the man's gospel, and it is because I must have put it before you badly that you do not appreciate his teaching. Read his books, and then if you can demolish his arguments, after you have carefully considered his books, and you prove that they are wrong, then I shall be able to retire from the whole matter and cease to gnaw. Meantime I have got to gnaw, and the responsibility with you, ladies and gentlemen, here to-day is that you should decide in your own minds whether he is right, and if you should decide that he was right, you will simply fling aside the trammels and lay before the British public that which will enable our country to still lead the way in the advance of civilization. I ought not to have digressed so much, but I could not refrain from saying that. In the paper I have written I quote freely from Major Phipson's works, and I state frankly that the last part of the paper, which deals primarily, almost entirely, with India, is really taken from his "India's Difficulties : Some Ways out of Them," so that if ever you should read his pamphlet, you must not think I am sailing under false colours when I present it to you almost in his own words, but simply edited so that it shall come into the brief space I am allowed. Practically it is his.

The lecture was then read.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL thought the lecture was one of the cleverest and most ingenious they had ever had, because the lecturer said it did not matter how much they proved him to be wrong. His defence would be that he was not defending principles of his own, but those of Mr. Phipson, who was dead, and he would take up his position behind the rampart of Mr. Phipson's book, and there remain entrenched until they had read it. Mr. Phipson had made certain statements regarding British Indian Statutes relating to land, which the lecturer had repeated. He (the speaker) referred to the statements that the Government of India persistently exacts from the cultivators rises in the produce rent, and places all its forces at the disposal of any landlord who wishes to act in the same way. He absolutely denied those statements, and knew for a fact that the lecturer and Mr. Phipson were under a misapprehension. It would not be unreasonable to expect the lecturer to quote at least one statute to confirm his statements, especially as the secretary had intimated to him that such confirmation would be welcome. Reference had been made to "Indian Custom" as being more just than the British Statutes. It had been necessary to pass laws to protect the tenant from the landlord. In Madras one of his earliest duties was to administer the law which protects the cultivator against the

rapacity of a landlord. As to Indian Custom being "conspicuously just" he would refer to the facts recorded in a book, written in the year 1893 by a distinguished native officer in Madras, Mr. S. Srinavasa Raghavieengar, C.I.E., who compiled a volume entitled "The Progress of the Madras Presidency during the Previous Forty Years." He commenced by a retrospect of earlier conditions. He said there was ample evidence to show that the land tax taken, not only by Muhammadan but also by the Hindu sovereigns, was fully one half of the *gross* produce, and there were many instances which went to show that the earlier conditions under native rule were overwhelmingly harsh. A Jesuit Missionary in 1683 wrote regarding the revenue administration of Ekoji, the Mahratta chief, a half-brother of Sivaji: "Tanjore is in the possession of Ekoji. . . . Ekoji appropriates four-fifths of the produce. This is not all. Instead of accepting these four-fifths in kind, he insists that they should be paid in money; and as he takes care to fix the price himself, much beyond that which the proprietor can realize, the result is that the entire produce does not suffice to pay the entire contribution. The cultivators then remain under the weight of a heavy debt; and often they are obliged to prove their inability to pay by submitting to the most barbarous tortures. It would be difficult for you to conceive such an oppression, and yet I must add that this tyranny is more frightful and revolting in the kingdom of Ginjee."

At the end of the eighteenth century, when British rule began, in the Zemindar and Poligar countries the only limit to the exactions to which the ryots were subjected was their ability to pay: the customary share of the produce belonging to Government was nominally half, but additional taxes were levied on various pretexts, reducing the share enjoyed by the ryots to a fifth or a sixth.

In 1856 the Government took up the question of the settlement of the land assessment, and an elaborate system was introduced by which the yield of standard crops on irrigated and unirrigated land was carefully tested. The next process was to find the money value of the grain out-turn; and for this purpose the average of a number of years, usually twenty, had then to be taken of the market prices. From that average a percentage of from 8 to 20 per cent. was deducted for various expenses, such as cartage, merchants' profits, etc., and the remainder was regarded as the commutation rate. The expenses of cultivation were ascertained by careful inquiry and were deducted from the commutation rate. Half of this reduced commutation rate was the land assessment payable to Government. A long table of rates was then prepared and applied to the villages, which were arranged in four groups according to their respective advantages of position, climate, certainty of irrigation, etc. The settlements last from twenty to thirty years, after which the commutation rate is liable to revision with reference to average market prices. The speaker found, from his own personal experience and inquiries, that in most districts the rental of lands leased to tenants by proprietary ryots was, for irrigated lands, taken as a whole, a little less than *three times the Government assessment*, and for unirrigated, *twice*. That is to say, the proprietor was so leniently treated that he could let out his lands for this large increase over and above the

Government assessment. In the year 1881, after the speaker had finished his duties as settlement officer, he procured information about the profits of a wealthy landed proprietor, who secured the full rents legally obtainable under the native system. The rent of the lands (about 6,000 acres) of the Princess of Tanjore in 1821 was about £5,000; in 1867-68 about £9,800; and in 1875-76 about £13,800. She received her share in money at a commutation rate which varied every year, according to the current market prices, and during the whole of this period the land assessment on Government lands in the same district, of similar fertility and irrigation, remained stationary—for the new settlement above described had not, up to 1875-76, been introduced.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said the only reason he had for speaking was that the paper contained an attack on the Government of India, and he wished to defend that Government, which, in his opinion, was the most kindly in the world. The lecturer had talked of the ryots being reduced to starvation by the exactions of the Government. Part of his (Mr. Moore's) work in India had been to make experiments on the crops grown by the people, the Government paying all expenses, and the crops being handed back to the cultivators. As a general result of such experiments, made by himself and many others, it was found that the Government assessments amounted to about 7 per cent. of the value of the gross produce in the Deccan. In Guzerat the assessments amounted to about 20 per cent., but Guzerat was a rich country. Sir James Wilson, he believed, had stated that throughout the Punjab the Government assessment was about one-tenth of the value of the gross produce. Now, were assessments of these proportions likely to drive the cultivators to starvation? Moreover, in famine years the assessments were frequently remitted by the Government altogether. Was that a method by which the cultivator was driven to starvation? The lecturer had said it was the custom of Native Indian Governments to fix an assessment and keep it fixed, but he doubted if anyone with Indian experience had ever heard of such a custom. As a matter of fact, in Bombay the British Government made settlements for certain periods—generally for thirty years—and at the end of that period there was an inquiry, and if the value of the land had altered, the assessment was altered. But the reasons for alteration were generally public reasons, such as the making of new roads or railways.

As to the financial side, railways and canals had been constructed in India by British investors' money. The Government of India was able to borrow money at extremely low rates from England, and to pay the interest and secure a profit out of the results of their expenditure. On page 145 the lecturer compared the Indian custom of taking revenue in kind with the British custom of taking it in cash, and said the former was greatly preferable. Twenty-five years ago, he had often occasion, as Assistant Collector, to go through the Native State of Khairpur, in Northern Sind, and it was his custom to chat with the people he met on his way. He gathered from them that the assessment was collected in kind, much to the detriment of the people; very often, unless the palms of the Government officials were well "greased," the cultivator was seriously injured by delays in the official

measurements of the products. In neighbouring British territory he had often asked the people if they would not like the Khairpur method, but they always said they preferred the British system. Under it they knew what they had to pay, and when they had to pay it. That was a brief resumé of his own personal experience in regard to the Indian revenue systems.

SIR GEORGE PAISH: I have listened to, and read, the paper of our lecturer with great interest. It is interesting from many points of view. We may not agree with his reasons, or his facts or conclusions, and yet the result of the paper may be beneficial, as it may bring out the true position. I have also listened with great attention to the two last speakers, who have told us what is really going on in India. That is to the good. All the exact information we can get is helpful in arriving at sound conclusions. There was one passage in the paper with which I fully agree, and that is this : "And to the natural fluctuations of prices caused by true demand are added the bewildering variations of an unstable currency." I know we in England very greatly objected to the bewildering variations of the rupee when it was falling in value, and when depreciated rupees came home to us for interest. An unstable currency is equally harmful to the State which cannot secure stability. I have been under the impression that the Indian Government, in common with all other Governments, have always, and more especially in recent times, endeavoured to prevent bewildering variations of an unstable currency. In India the gold standard has been introduced, and the value of the rupee has been fixed at 1s. 4d., the fluctuations being confined to very small fractions either side of that rate, whereas the price in the old days fluctuated between 2s. and 10d. Thus you will see the Indian Government fully agree with the lecturer in their desire to avoid an unstable currency. The same kind of thing is going on in all countries. I had sent to me the other day a medal commemorative of the introduction of the gold standard into Japan twelve years ago. The gold standard has been introduced into Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and other countries. I mention Argentina and Brazil because those countries had at one time something of the kind of thing that the lecturer seems to want to introduce into India—a note circulation without any backing of gold or silver. The result was an enormous gold premium sprang up, and the value of the notes went down to a very low figure. In Brazil the milreis fell from 27d. to 7d., as there was no metallic reserve behind its notes. I think if the lecturer considers the matter more fully he will recognize that it is very undesirable to have convertible notes with no metallic reserve behind them. There is a great difference between cheques and an unlimited note circulation. In the cheque we have an unlimited power of note issue; but a man does not draw a cheque unless he has money behind it at the bank, and behind his bank deposit is his other wealth. In fact, the whole wealth of a man is behind every cheque he draws. Thus, a cheque is the strongest currency we can have. With regard to an unsecured note, it is quite different. Let us assume that India has an unlimited and an unsecured note circulation, and that, as sometimes happens, its crops fail. Indian merchants often

buy Manchester or other goods for future delivery, not expecting the crop to fail, and they are called upon to pay for the goods with which to make payment. In other words, the balance of trade, for the time being, is against India. What is the result? They cannot pay for the foreign goods if they have no reserve behind their note circulation. Of course, they may be able to borrow, but it is not possible always to borrow at such times. It is, in fact, essential to possess a currency which can be used, if necessary, to make international payments. An unsecured note circulation is of no use whatever for this purpose.

Now, it is of the greatest importance that we should not allow to go far the heresy that notes can be issued without value behind them. The business of the world must be conducted on sound lines. I do not think I need say very much more about currency. The Lecturer has been talking to us as though currency was the one thing we had to look to above all others, and he told us that if there were no currency the price of wheat would fall to nothing. He has surely forgotten that we exchange wheat for currency only as a matter of convenience; we exchange wheat for clothing. If the price of wheat falls, surely the price of clothing will fall too, and no great harm will be done. Before there was currency there was barter, and they did not give wheat away in the days of barter.

Now, I would say one or two words about the condition of India. India is a country which has a great fascination for everyone, and particularly for the British people. There is no country in the world that is enjoying conditions such as India possesses to-day. We are willing to lend money to India at the present time almost on the same interest basis as we lend to our own people. Our own consols stand very little higher in price than Indian securities. If India were outside the Empire, what would be the result? Certainly India would not be able to borrow at 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; she would have to pay 5, 6, or even 7 per cent. for capital. China will pay over 5 per cent. for money when the new loan comes out.

Now a word as to the home charges. India is receiving better value for her money than any other country. You construct a railway, and you add enormously to the wealth-production of that country. We have found something like two thousand millions of capital for railways in almost every country in the world, and for India we have found it at a very low rate of interest. The result is that India's home charges—the money that is sent to this country for interest—is very small in comparison with that sent from other countries. It is of the greatest importance that India should grow in wealth and prosperity. We all want India to become prosperous. How is that to be accomplished? It must be accomplished in the same way as in other countries. First of all you must have education. An educated India would be able to, and would, supply her own capital for development. Just think of the enormous sums hoarded in India, and which might be used for productive purposes. Why do not those hoards come out? Simply because the people are uneducated. They hoard their money, they put it into boxes, and into ornaments; they do not know how to employ it. If the Indian people were educated and enterprising, instead of having a few thousand miles of railways, India would

soon possess railways running into every part of the country ; and from a condition of poverty the country would become very rich. The direction of sound reform lies in raising the intellectual capacity of the people, in teaching them to have confidence in us and in each other, in teaching them to be enterprising, and in teaching them to use their savings both for their own and for the general welfare.

SIR ROBERT FULTON said he wished to add his testimony to that of the two previous speakers, who had spoken for Madras and Bombay, whilst he represented Bengal. He did not think he ought to be entirely silent, although his experience was exactly the same as theirs. There were no statutes which had been passed by the Indian Government which in any way interfered with, or imposed restrictions upon, the ryots, or prevented them from becoming prosperous. Bengal for the most part was permanently settled, while the celebrated Act X of 1859—the Magna Charta of the tenants in Bengal—gave many of them fixed tenures, which could not be taken away or cancelled, or the rents ever be raised. It also gave the ryots rights of occupancy after twelve years' occupation of the land, and there were now few ryots in lower Bengal who had not rights of occupancy. Act X. of 1859 had been amended, but the amendments were practically all in favour of the ryot. As to produce rents which, the lecturer said, Government was in the habit of collecting, this system prevailed principally in the Province of Behar, and produce rents were there collected by the landlords upon a fixed principle, and not by the Government. In one passage the lecturer seemed to blame the Government for putting the Courts of Law at the service of the landlords. He presumed the lecturer meant to say the Government put the Courts, as judicial forces, at the service of the landlords and the moneylenders to collect their rents or debts. Well, of course the landlords were entitled to their rents, and the moneylender was a very much abused individual, although no doubt sometimes very rapacious ; but the tenants could not get on without the assistance of those people who advanced money to the ryots to buy seed grain and defray the costs of cultivation. The Government, however, was well aware of the evil, and in Bengal had established through the country agricultural banks for the purpose of advancing money to the ryots at very low rates of interest. The lecturer seemed to be entirely unacquainted with India, hence the fallacies—the *major* fallacies if he might say so—to be found in his paper.

MR. REGINALD MURRAY said he agreed with the Chairman that an unstable currency was undesirable, and that, so far as the paper advocated a means of insuring stability, the object was an excellent one. But he did not agree with the methods proposed. The mistake in the paper had been of regarding the token as one thing and money as another. Money was a commodity, and tokens were a part of it. It was no use trying to control money. The late Mr. Pierpont Morgan, in his evidence before the Pujo Committee, had said in his emphatic way : " You cannot control money. No, sir, you cannot do it." And when you came to think of it by the light of your own experience, you could not but admit that this bold statement was perfectly justified. For no man could be forced to

buy or pay for what he did not want. A man, if persuaded or cajoled into buying something which he was afterwards sorry for, might say, "that the serpent tempted him and he did eat." But such an excuse never had been, and never would be, held valid. In one part of the paper it was provided that the valueless notes, which were to form the sole money of the country, should be doled out by a Government official in exchange for food. He could picture some Mr. Abraham Levi, perhaps the first cousin of some future Chancellor of the Exchequer, sitting at the seat of custom and cornering the food market. It would be a case of Pharaoh and Joseph over again. In another place it was suggested that all the savings of the country should be locked up in a National Bank, and never lent out to anybody. This was inconceivable. The bane of India was the hoarding propensities of the people. But for this custom, India should have been by this time one of the richest countries in the world. It was because of this custom that India had remained so long a poor country. During the last twenty years the Indians had recognized this fact, and had not only deposited their money in banks, but had started banks on the European system—that is, banks for distributing as well as receiving money. If money lay idle it was non-productive; it must circulate to be reproductive. Money could only be regulated by demand and supply. Control which interfered in any way with the natural course of demand and supply was most undesirable, and the Government were the last persons to be entrusted with such power.

MR. BANNERJEE said, in fairness to the Lecturer, it appeared to him some of the fallacies to which he might have committed himself had been snapped up by some of the retired officials, who tried to make out from the Lecturer's slips a case for the contrary hypothesis. He agreed that the establishment of a paper currency was unsound and unpractical. According to the economic doctrine in India, the landlord was the owner and proprietor of land, and he would like to have a reply to this question: "Had any British statute actually been passed according to which, as a matter of principle, the proprietorship of land had been shifted from the landlord to the British Government?" Mention had been made of the rapacious landlord! He ventured to ask if the Government assessments levied were not equally rapacious? As for British capital flowing into India, that was an ordinary commercial transaction, and would equally obtain if India were under the rule of any other country.

SIR FRANK GATES said he had seen a considerable tract of land transferred from native to British administration, and he agreed with the Lecturer that the establishment of settled Government with law and order had improved the position of the landlords to a certain extent. Under the native Government the powerful landlord could do what he liked. But the Law Courts of the British Government had come to the help of the humble landlord. The Courts did not increase the power of the big man. The Lecturer denied that rent was due to difference in fertility, and lands in Canada, a long way from any railway station, were instanced. But other things must be equal, in order that difference in fertility may take effect. He had seen lands side by side, one acre paying a high rent,

and another which could be had for nothing, the landlord being glad to have the jungle growth kept down. If the Lecturer had condescended to deal with the practical details of his currency scheme, it would have been better understood. It was not clear how the price of a pair of boots was to be fixed with reference to grain. He concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, whose paper had stimulated discussion, and to the Chairman, whose practical knowledge had thrown much light on the subject.

MR. J. M. MEHTA said the discussion reminded him of the old story of the shoemaker ; the shoemaker almost always praised his shoes, but invariably the wearer had all sorts of complaints. As the person who, metaphorically, wore the shoes, perhaps he might say a word or two on the subject. The Lecturer, in the paragraph on page 145, said, " Does the Government of India do this ? " and he said the Government did ; but the reply of the retired official was that it did it better than the Native States used to do it. He knew personally that in the Bombay Presidency there were Native States in which fixed assessments in kind prevailed, although retired Anglo-Indian officials stated such a thing did not exist. If lately these chiefs had become more greedy, that might possibly be due to the inspiration which they receive from the state of things prevalent in adjoining British-Indian districts, where, according to the representation of a group of distinguished retired Anglo-Indian administrators, the average assessment is 60 per cent. of the net produce of the land. In order to properly understand the currency policy of the Government of India and its effects on the economic conditions of the people of the country, we will have to go back to the year 1893, when the present policy came into being. I will only mention one result of that step. It was estimated, by no less an authority than Sir D. Barbour, the then finance member of the Viceroy's Council, that at the time the new policy was inaugurated there was about £130,000,000 worth of silver in India, and by one stroke of the pen this huge stock of precious metal was depreciated by 20 per cent.—i.e., so much was lost to the people of India.

MR. PENNINGTON said he did not quite agree with Sir Arundel Arundel and Mr. Leslie Moore. He thought the Lecturer was rather unfair to the Indian Government, and that they were rather unfair to him. He did not think they quite followed the lecturer's argument. In the disputed passage Mr. Major said that "the Indian Government must first effectively discharge its judicial functions by recognizing the nature and extent of every cultivator's interest or 'estate' in the land he cultivates, and protect him from any and every form of a rise in his *produce-rent*"; and he asked if "the Government of India did this." *Theoretically*, we say, it does. It does not profess to increase the money assessment on any man's land, except on account of a *bona fide* rise in prices or some improvement *not* due to the cultivating ryot's own exertion—e.g., a great irrigation work which may have doubled or trebled the produce. And it is demonstrable that, instead of one-third of the gross produce, which is the least that was claimed in old times by the Government for the time being, and is even now theoretically assumed to be the share of an English landlord, the Land Revenue of India, which

in over three-fourths of the country includes the rent, does not represent more than 7 or 8 per cent. of the produce, as Mr. Moore observed. At the same time, I must admit that there is a tendency now (in the south, at any rate,) to increase the assessment at each re-settlement, as I think unfairly. In Tinnevelly, for instance, which has lately been re-settled, (one might say *unsettled*), much of the land irrigated by the Tambraparni (the most valuable river for its size in India), which was assessed by Mr. Puckle, a famous and very wise settlement officer, at the exceptional rate of 20 Rs. an acre, was raised the other day to 22½ Rs. (30s.), not on account of any improvement in the irrigation, but chiefly, I believe, on account of a rise in prices, which is as ruinous to the smallholder, *who has no surplus except at the expense of his stomach*, as to anyone else. On the other hand, again, I am bound to say that when I first lived in that most fertile country forty-six years ago, the assessment in my village averaged 25½ Rs. an acre, and was paid with such ease that I have known it sublet for 80 or 90 Rs. an acre, and even now it is selling for 3,000 Rs.; so that it is scarcely correct to say that "the unfortunate cultivator is stripped of everything but a bare subsistence."

On the motion of Sir Frederick Gates, seconded by Mr. Pennington, a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer was received with acclamation.

The LECTURER said they had given him much to reply to, but he did not know how long they would give him for his reply; he took it they did not want a lengthy reply.

The Hon. SECRETARY said he might write his reply, and send it along by post.

The LECTURER said that made it much easier, because they were dealing with very difficult matters; it would be unfair to expect them to grasp the question without having had an opportunity of thinking it over beforehand, and it would also be unfair to expect him to reply at present in any detail in the time available. He thought the Chairman had not quite appreciated how commerce should be regulated by exchange. Exchange was the great regulator of commerce between country and country, and it was because the Indian Government had tampered with the working of the exchange that they had brought a great many difficulties upon India. He wished to thank the Chairman for his presence amongst them, and he hoped everyone present would study the question. If any one of them cared to do so, they could have a copy of the late Major Phipson's works.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to say that I think everyone will agree that at no time has India been as prosperous as it is to-day. I think you will also admit that in the matter of exchange its position is remarkably strong. Not only is India importing (and able to pay for by means of her exports) great quantities of foreign goods, but also immense sums of gold and silver. Indeed, the amount of gold flowing into India is so great that people are afraid it will have a disturbing effect on the credit of other countries. In fact India, under the existing conditions of exchange, and her existing currency system, is making great progress.

The Hon. Secretary has received the following note by Mr. Puckle, C.I.E., late Director of Revenue Settlement, Madras :—This paper is rather beyond my power of comment in currency matters, but as far as the present system of periodical revision of land assessment is concerned, I think it is a mistake to interfere with the rates originally "settled" and approved of by Government. The benefits derived from the higher prices should, I think, be considered the ryot's reward for his peaceful and loyal conduct and persistent industry, and the Government might be content with the normal increase of revenue brought about by the extension of cultivation in lands hitherto waste, by the conversion of dry lands into wet, and by the conversion of single-crop charge into double-crop charge, as irrigated lands are better supplied with water. This normal increase would be very considerable and would extend year by year, and, if satisfied with this, the Government would save the entire cost of the periodical revision by the settlement department and would give the ryots a greater feeling of permanency. When I joined the Settlement Department in 1859, I understood that the assessment then to be made was to be permanent, and I was much surprised to learn some years later that it was liable to periodical revision. This I did my best to oppose, but was over-ruled. I agree that a revision based on the higher selling prices of grain in recent years, and the consequent increase of assessment in the districts recently resettled, presses hardly on the many ryots who have nothing to sell but who merely live on the limited produce of their small holdings ; and I have always held that the more that is left to the ryot the better for Government, as it enables him to improve cultivation, extend his holding, and have some surplus for the improvement of his social condition by the purchase of comforts and perhaps dutiable articles. The writer of the paper seems to agree with what I have written above, in asserting that "fixity of produce-rents is the correct principle." It is remarkable to read that China has set us an example in this respect.

MR. MAJOR'S REPLY : I feel it is unfortunate that in dealing with this subject I should have had to pass strictures on the working of the Indian Government, and so lay myself open to the charge of attacking it, which I had no intention of doing. The effect has been to switch the discussion off the real purpose of the paper, which was to elicit a calm and dispassionate examination of the economic side of the question, and to show how the mistakes of the Indian Government and the consequent wrongs inflicted on the vast population under its care—mistakes and wrongs due to ignorance —can be remedied.

So far this purpose has been largely frustrated. I hope, however, when it is really understood, it may be possible for India's difficulties to be examined into by my critics free from all bias, and merely with an open-minded desire to establish the truth.

In answering those whom I may call the official critics of my paper—those who have manifestly served India in that whole-hearted manner which makes us who stay at home proud to think we are of the same race

—I should like to point out that the true prosperity of a country and the consequent success of its Government must be judged by the prosperity of its poorest and most humble citizens. And judged by this standard, it is not enough to point to the increasing prosperity of commercial India, as Sir George Paish does (although this is all so much to the good), or to urge that the cultivators of the soil as a whole can very well bear increases in their assessment that may be made from time to time. On the contrary, the question that has to be considered is what the effect of such increases will be on the very poorest of the people. The recent increase of two annas in the rupee of the Tinnevelly assessment, mentioned by Mr. Pennington, may perhaps be easily borne by the most prosperous of the class upon whom it falls; but the real test is how it can be borne by the very poor. Mr. Pennington himself tells us that it is borne by them in certain circumstances at the expense of their stomachs, and Sir Arundel will, I think, hardly deny that this represents what is in fact a very definite "form of a rise in his produce rent" to the small-holder, even although his rent is payable in money. It is true that Mr. Pennington says lower down that "it is scarcely correct to say that 'the unfortunate cultivator is stripped of everything but a bare subsistence,'" but he appears to be referring in this case to a different class, while Mr. Puckle fully bears out his first statement, and, I think, confirms in a most remarkable manner what Phipson pleaded for, namely, fixity of tenure and of rent for tenants.

Mr. Puckle is, of course, quite correct in thinking that I agree with him in asserting that "fixity of produce-rents is the correct principle." Reference to my remarks on page 147, however, will show I recognize that the perfect freedom to cultivate whatever crops the tenant finds most advantageous "is incompatible with the collection of rents in kind," and the whole purpose of this paper is to show that the virtual attainment of the former principle, together with the immense convenience and freedom conferred by the payment of rents in money, *is* possible of achievement, but only when the Government recognize that it is their paramount duty and prerogative to so regulate the issues of currency as to preserve stability in food-prices over an average of years.

I think it will be agreed that Sir Frank Gates confirms the statement denied by Sir Arundel that "the Government of India . . . places all its forces at the disposal of any landlord who wishes to act in the same way," when he states that "the Law Courts of the British Government had come to the help of the humble landlord," and makes it clear that the reason it had not helped the powerful landlord too, is because he could already do what he liked under a native Government.

As I have been writing, I have just come to see what I think has led to a misunderstanding on Sir Arundel's part of the statement, that the Indian Government not only does not protect the cultivator "from any and every form of a rise in his produce-rent," but "makes such exactions persistently itself." In face of the fact admitted by all the speakers who touched on the point, and by Sir Arundel himself, that the settlements are liable to revision, I could not understand how he could deny that the Indian Government "makes such exactions persistently itself."

I realize now, however, that it is probably the rise in *produce-rents* which he denies, and not the rise in money-rents. I must, therefore, explain that when I used what is practically Phipson's own phrase, "*any and every form of a rise in his produce-rent*," I did so understanding quite well that he did not mean to imply that the Indian Government actually collected the rents in produce, but that the effect of a rise in the money-rent was much the same in effect as an increase in the produce-rent, while a fall in prices has the same effect (*cf. p. 144*). If, for instance, Rs. 20 an acre is paid for land when a given quantity of wheat or rice is selling for Rs. 20, should the produce fall in price to Rs. 10, double the amount will have to be sold to pay the same money-rent—a form of rise in the produce-rent, although not in the money-rent. Taken literally, it might be true to say that if prices increased, a proportionate increase of the money-rent may not result in an increase of the produce-rent. But even in such a case, the increase has the effect of depriving the tenant of part or all of the increase in prosperity which would otherwise be his, thus keeping the worker on the land permanently on a low level of prosperity.

Under Currency Reform and the resulting stable currency, although food would not increase in price over an average of years, all industrial products would gradually grow cheaper, and it is the result of this cheapening, from whatever cause it may arise, which must be secured to the agricultural class, and the equivalent of which is taken from him when rents are raised, even if prices have risen at the same time.

As regards Indian custom and British statutes, I did not intend to convey the impression that the country was better off under the former than under the latter. Under Indian custom, because native Governments did not insure justice for the weak from the oppression of the strong, "custom" has often been set at naught, and Indian administration has been conspicuously unjust, while under unjust statutes, British administration has been conspicuously just, only being limited in this respect by the injustice of the statutes it has to administer. Sir Robert Fulton correctly interprets my meaning as to the Government putting all its forces at the disposal of landlord and money-lender, thus making all resistance to their exactions under unjust statutes impossible on the part of the people, whereas under native rule such resistance acted to some extent as a curb on violations of custom, and on the rapacity of the money-lender.

The establishment of agricultural banks is one of the many instances of the superb administration of India by the Government through the Anglo-Indian officials, which undoubtedly goes far to counteract the evil effects of the unjust statutes which they have to administer.

From the remarks of Sir George Paish, it is evident that, possibly owing to my imperfect presentation of the case, he has not grasped the fundamental principles on which the paper is based, and he quite misunderstands the passage in the paper with which he thinks he is in agreement. For when I wrote of an unstable currency, I referred to its instability as a measure of home prices and home contracts expressed in money, and not to its instability as a measure of foreign money, with which it "has no legitimate connection." (*Cf. p. 149.*)

To understand the extent of the harm done by the Indian Government in its attempt to more nearly approximate the value of India's currency to that of the British by tampering with the laws of "exchange," it will be well to hear what Phipson himself said about the matter in 1903, and I quote, more or less in his own words, from his "*Science of Civilization*," p. 494 *et seq.*, as follows :

The fall in rates of exchange between India and England has not been caused by any fall in the value of the rupee in India, but solely by a rise in the value of the pound in England ; consequently, the yearly loss to the Indian Government has been entirely caused by the increasing falsification against her as debtor, of the British pound. What, then, are the measures by which the Indian Government conceives it has accomplished the impossible, lightening the liabilities of India to the same extent as it has reduced its own payments ? and what are their real economic effects ?

The measures are two : (1) It has raised the price of the rupee in pence—*i.e.*, the rate of exchange between India and England from thirteen pence to sixteen pence per rupee, and (2) it has fixed this price as a permanency within but narrow limits of variation. Considerable movements in rates of exchange can result from nothing but considerable movements in the general level of prices. These movements can result from nothing but contractions or expansions in the volume of the respective currencies. Thus, if the rate of exchange between India and England falls, owing to a general fall in the level of English prices, India cannot possibly raise this rate except by bringing about a general fall in the level of Indian prices, while the only way to bring about such a fall is to reduce the number of rupees available for circulation in India. The Indian Government did this by demonetizing the vast hoards of silver in India and stopping the free coinage of silver into rupees. This lowered the general level of prices in India and raised the rate of exchange upon England. It raised the rate of exchange, not by the difficult means of preserving unchanged relations between the general level of prices in the two countries, but by the easy one of adopting for either country a money unit identical with, or mechanically convertible into, that of the other. It did this by declaring £1 English to be the legal equivalent of Rs. 15 Indian. It remains now to ascertain the effect of these three measures upon India herself, or rather upon the three great classes of Indian society—depositors, agriculturists and merchants.

DEPOSITORS.

Prior to the closing of the mints, the depositors' legal money unit was not the rupee, but the 163 grains of silver in the rupee. Consequently, a fixed weight of silver being the true money unit of India, and not the coined rupee, every Indian holder of rupees was free to convert his silver rupee into bullion. Depriving silver bullion of its customary power to discharge debts and effect payments entailed a wholesale confiscation of Indian monetary hoards. Some idea of the extent of this annihilation may be gathered from the following figures : The coined

rupees in India up to 1893 may be estimated as 1,500,000,000 ounces silver.

At Rs. 3 to the ounce this silver would be equivalent to Rs. 4,500,000,000, but now as bullion it is not saleable for more than Rs. 2,500,000,000, because prior to 1893 5 ounces of silver were coinable into Rs. 15, whereas now 9 ounces (at 2s. 3d. per ounce) must be sold to realize the same number. In other words, the Government annihilated Indian monetary deposits at one stroke to the enormous extent of Rs. 2,000,000,000. If this loss be realized by depositors (hoarders) to the extent of only 3 per cent. per annum we arrive at a fine of Rs. 60,000,000, yearly, levied on this class alone, to secure to the Government its supposed yearly saving of Rs. 37,500,000.

INDIAN CULTIVATORS.

The total area of land fully assessed for Revenue in India is somewhat over 300,000,000 acres, yielding a present average annual assessment of about Rs. 250,000,000. The total area of land not so assessed, but paying rent to private individuals, is 300,000,000 acres, yielding an annual rent which may be moderately computed at twice the Government assessment, or, say, Rs. 500,000,000. If to these two sums we add the amount of annual indebtedness of the holders of both classes of lands to money-lenders, estimating this amount as equal to the Government assessment—a sum which must be far under the reality—we get a further Rs. 250,000,000. The total of these several sums gives an annual payment by Indian cultivators of Rs. 1,000,000,000, which sum is necessarily obtained by the only way open to them—*i.e.*, by the annual sale in the markets of the foodstuffs they raise. The fall in prices caused by the rise in rates of exchange a careful estimate shows to be about 7 per cent., which, on the Rs. 1,000,000,000 is equal to Rs. 70,000,000, which is a further set-off against the supposed savings by the Indian Government of Rs. 37,500,000.

INDIAN MERCHANTS.

The action of the Government has diminished the monetary supplies of Indian merchants by the enormous sum of Rs. 500,000,000 in three years. The paralyzing effect of this upon Indian trade may be better realized by merchants in Great Britain if they consider the consequences to themselves of the loanable capacities of British bankers being suddenly reduced in the same term by £500,000,000. For at least £1 is employed in Great Britain for every rupee employed in India.

We can now perceive that the Indian Government, in trying to protect themselves from the unpreventable consequences (so far as it is concerned), of the value of the British money-unit being falsified against it, has deliberately set itself, by the course it is pursuing, to ignore every class but money-lenders of the vast community committed to its charge—to rob depositors, to oppress cultivators, intensifying the burthen of their ever-imminent scarcities, to hamper merchants, and all this for the sake of a completely fallacious saving on remittances which one year's increased famine expenditure goes far towards consuming; while the British Government,

in being a consenting party to the further extension of the British money unit to another and still poorer 250,000,000 of people, is preparing final ruin for British farmers who, starting from wheat and returning to it in the necessary rotation of crops, will henceforth have to compete in their home markets for home money-units with Indian wheat-growers, the most impoverished cultivators in the civilized world.

TRADE POLICY FOR THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

What then, it may now be asked, are the means whereby the Indian Government may be relieved, to an increasing extent, from its financial burthens, and the Indian people from the constant imminence of famine?

For answer I must refer you to Phipson's own works, "The Redemption of Labour" and "The Science of Civilization," from the appendix to which last I have now quoted, and to his pamphlet "India's Difficulties: Some ways out of them" (George Allen and Co.), as it is obvious that it is not possible for me to compress into the limits of my answer to the discussion on this paper the result of the study of his lifetime, of which I have but touched the fringe.

SIR GEORGE PAISH points out that in the matter of exchange the position of India is remarkably strong, by which he appears to mean that she has a great power of importing, and of paying for her imports by her exports. Under Currency Reform this would certainly not be altered for the worse, and as I am sure that Sir George Paish would be one of the first to admit that the ideal of international trade is the exchange of goods for goods, and not the sale of goods for money, he should welcome Currency Reform because it would mean the achievement of this ideal.

It is strange that he seems to lose sight of the fact that as long as international payments have to be made through the medium of Bills of Exchange, and cannot be made through the payment of international money, the rise and fall in the rates of exchange must act to regulate the balance of international trade. If exports are heavy, the rates must tend against the exporters, acting as a check on shipments, but must correspondingly stimulate imports; so that as a time of crop failure approached, the fall in the price of rupee drafts drawn on India would discourage shipments to India, and would not only encourage shipments from there, but would cause trade balances in her favour to be used in liquidating the balances that were adverse to her, by the methods well understood by firms versed in the complicated working of the arbitrage system connected with foreign exchanges. I have no doubt that at the present time, the automatic check on excessive exports to India is to a large extent removed by the working of the fixed exchange, thus making movements of actual money from country to country often of advantage to financial houses, and nullifying to some extent the teaching of economists, that international trade must consist of the exchange of goods for goods, and cannot be the exchange of goods for money.

I must not dwell at greater length on the harm that results to international commercial relations owing to this factor, but that up till 1873

Great Britain was the only country which had a mono-metallic standard, and that a gold one, is a proof that up to that time at least it was not "essential to possess a currency which can be used, if necessary, to make international payments," as Sir George Paish claims that it is, and which we Currency Reformers emphatically deny.

The mistake he makes in citing Brazil and Argentina against our proposals for a note issue unsecured by and not based on any metal, is indicated when he assumes the case of India with an *unlimited* note circulation, which was, no doubt, the case with the countries he refers to. Reference to page 149 of my paper will, however, show that the "regulation (of valueless money tokens) will require the annual issue of tokens to be *rigorously limited* to whatever number proves to be necessary." This regulation is one of the fundamental points in the paper which Sir George Paish has evidently overlooked.

It is quite true that the whole wealth of a man is behind the cheque he draws, but if at the time of the Baring crisis the Bank of France had refused the loan of some 8 millions of gold to the Bank of England, it is probable that in many instances creditors would have found by bitter experience that this fact was of little avail to them, seeing that banks on which cheques were drawn might have had to close their doors, owing to the fact that they had not the gold available with which to meet the cheques. Such experiences were not unknown in Australia, and more recently in the United States, at the time of the banking crises in those countries.

Mr. Murray has strangely misunderstood me as regards the method by which the Government would issue the currency needed to prevent the price of food from falling when harvests were normal. If he will read page 149 carefully, he will see that I nowhere suggest that a Government official would dole it out against food. On the contrary, I suggested to my hearers, and therefore to Mr. Murray also, that they would know better than I could tell them how the Government could put this money into circulation "for the economic advantage of the country by the construction of roads, etc."—how, in fact, they could circulate it in payment of work done. Surely, no suggestion of a dole in this, but, on the contrary, something which will, I hope, enable Mr. Murray's vivid imagination to conjure up a vision of prosperity for India which it is beyond the powers of most of us to picture, because, as I believe, the reality under such conditions will far surpass the best that we can think of as possible to-day.

I plead guilty to having laid myself somewhat open to his strictures about the National Savings Banks, for I see I did not quite clearly indicate the working of the system. As these banks would allow no interest, those who wished to obtain a return on their savings would have to withdraw them, and either use the money themselves or lend it to those who would do so, in exchange for a share of the profit they made. But if Mr. Murray will refer again to page 151, he will see that the Government would have to make an annual compensatory issue of currency, estimated at Rs. 100,000,000, to fill the void caused by the yearly withdrawal of money from circulation for saving. He says that the bane of India is the hoarding propensities of

its people, but I hope he will be able to understand how the very quality which works as an evil under an intrinsically valuable currency, will prove an immense blessing under a properly regulated currency which is without intrinsic value, because the greater the issues of money the Government have to make, the greater must be the prosperity of the country.

It would be interesting to know how much time Sir Frank Gates would have been prepared to give me, so that I might have dealt with the practical details of our Currency Reform scheme. I think on consideration he will see that it was not possible in the short limits of such a paper to do more than show something of the wrongs of the present system, and give a broad indication of the lines the remedy must follow. But as regards his question with reference to the fixing of the price of a pair of boots, the reply is that this would not be fixed with reference to grain at all. We may assume, for the sake of argument, that we should retain the same names for the paper currency as for our present metallic currency—pounds, shillings, pence. How is the money price of a pair of boots fixed now with reference to gold? It would require an elaborate essay to answer the question, I think, so all I need say is that the price would be fixed in exactly the same way with reference to the paper pounds, shillings, and pence—by cost of production, supply and demand, competition, and such other factors as enter into the question to-day.

The known factor, however, would be that on an average of years the paper pound would buy a definite quantity of the national food grain, and that because it remained stable in its purchasing power over the food of the people, competition, inventions, and all those things which represent commercial and industrial progress would ensure, as the years rolled on, that the same money-wage would gradually purchase more and more of those many things desired by man even more than food when once hunger is satisfied. Then the peoples of India, under what would at last be the just, as well as the mild, rule of the British Raj, would be able to pass from one stage to another of growing prosperity, because for the first time it would be able to grant absolute justice and equality of freedom to every one of its subjects, including the poorest of its poor.

CALCUTTA : "THE PREMIER CITY."

BY WILMOT CORFIELD.

"Hail, Mother, I am Asia!"—RUDYARD KIPLING.

OUR subject to-day is an important one, and at the outset I am faced with a difficulty owing to the fact that my audience largely consists of two classes—the one as well acquainted, and even better acquainted, it may be, than I am with the "city Charnock founded," and the other with rather less than a superficial knowledge of its traditions, history, and appearance. I resided in Calcutta for more than twenty years, and so may claim to possess some experience of the many and varied sensations to which one of the greatest and most charming cities in the world gives rise.

What I have to say to-day divides itself into two divisions. I propose first to make some suggestions for the consideration of those of you who feel qualified to give it, and then to show upon a screen a series of views of Calcutta, which I trust will appeal alike to both those who know the city and to others who do not; and I invite the former to look upon my opening remarks as specially addressed to them only, and the latter to regard the description of the pictures as more particularly intended for their sole benefit. I trust this arrangement will meet with your approval, the more so as it is a psychologic fact that everybody prefers to read about and to see pictures of places that they know well, rather than of places they have never seen and are never

likely to see. I shall feel easier in the later part of my discourse, because by the time it is reached my subject will have broken away from the critical notice of those learned, grave and reverend seigneurs present, who know everything it is possible to know about the "Premier City," and will be meant for an audience willing to listen to anything and to believe anything, just as was that assembled in this hall only a few weeks ago to take in all that Mr. Claude White had to say about Lhassa, the unknowable and the unknown. Mr. Claude White was better off than I am : he had the advantage of me, because the chances are that not a living soul of us present on that occasion had ever been to Lhassa. Mr. White was becomingly considerate. He might have related stories as steep as the sides of the Potala, and as tall as the cone of Everest, and none of us would have been any the wiser—in fact, being sincere in his endeavours to enlighten us, he missed the opportunity of firing off much we might never have learned anywhere else. Lhassa is a great mystery. We may do what we like with mysteries, especially Asian mysteries. Calcutta, colossal in significance, is a solid fact. We may not trifle with solid facts.

I have often wondered at the general lack of knowledge possessed by the average Englishman concerning Calcutta. I remember how, when first going out to India, I had the very dimmest notion of what Calcutta was like, although I do not think my capacity for assimilating the usual run of general ideas common to our countrymen was below the average, but rather the contrary. I have always found, however, that the Englishman knows one thing about Calcutta : he knows that the "Black Hole" is surmounted by a marble angel, and that it contains the remains of the victims of the Nana Sahib who perished at Cawnpore. And it is at least something to know that.

The two main suggestions I am about to make are for the establishment in London of a Calcutta Historical Society, and for the erection, either on the Surrey shore

of the Thames or on the site of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, of an Indian hall and museum (absorbing the Indian Museum at South Kensington) on the lines of the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, as an Imperial monument to India.

There is something not a little pathetic about Fate's inscrutable handling of Calcutta's destinies. We English have no abiding city there. We go, we arrive, we come away, or else have a sudden funeral in one of the great cemeteries, and there is an end of the matter. The Hindoo, the Moslem, the Armenian, and the Jew, like the wise people they are, manage to get born there and to know when they are well off. We don't, or, if we do, we manage to come away, usually just at the point of attaining to a fixed belief that there is no place like Calcutta in all the world, and that people who leave it are more than rash in emigrating from the pleasant, though a trifle uncertain, world of their adoption, to one of umbrellas and other appendages of Western civilization.

Some few years ago, in 1907, there was formed in Calcutta ("inaugurated" was, I think, the word), under the highest auspices and upon a broadly popular basis, the Calcutta Historical Society, having for its object the study of the city and its surroundings from the historical point of view, but excluding from consideration the period prior to the arrival of the earlier European traders in Bengal. The Calcutta Historical Society for several years rendered valuable service to Calcutta and Bengal in the direction of its aims. Our present chairman was foremost in furthering the movement for which the Calcutta Historical Society stands. A noble, well-illustrated quarterly magazine, *Bengal: Past and Present*, regularly (or irregularly) appeared, under the very capable editorship of the Rev. W. K. Firminger, M.A., now the officiating Archdeacon of Calcutta. The society travelled, observed, suggested, compiled, lectured, lunched, wrote epitaphs for tombstones, and in

the end proved itself to be one of the most attractive agencies making for progress and the more acceptable amenities of the city and province, while the tombstones looked ever so much better as a result of its attentions.

No sooner, however, was the Calcutta Historical Society launched than the inevitable sapping of its strength by reason of the ceaseless drain of its more enthusiastic members away from Bengal became apparent. Illness, transfer, furlough and other leave, often ending in permanent retirement to England, played havoc in its ranks—so much so that at last there came a time when a halt made itself imperative, and a temporary suspension of operations ensued. It escaped the untoward fate falling to many equally well-meaning associations of being nipped in the bud, but it is now merely gently hovering in the air, except for marconigrams, an unsubstantial, not to say a dangerous, element in which to cultivate the graceful art of hovering.

It is perfectly easy to reach Calcutta—in some respects, easier than to get to Birmingham or even Bermondsey. Calcutta, like Canterbury, Carisbrooke and Carlisle, is now a suburb of London, and London, not Delhi, as yet in the clouds, is the real capital of India. You get out of a taxi in Fenchurch Street, give the driver an extra sixpence as some consolation for never seeing you again, admire cabbage gardens in Kent and Essex through the windows, walk up a gangway, walk down the same gangway on to a jetty where bullock carts abound, request a *gharry wallah* to drive to the "Black Hole" (rattling at the same time an assortment of coin of the realm in depreciated silver); he takes you there by way of the Circular Road, Coseitollah and Ranee Moodee Gullee—and there you are. This being the case, there seems to be no very insurmountable difficulty in the way of the re-establishment of the Calcutta Historical Society in London, leaving the future to decide whether the Calcutta or the London office should be regarded as the headquarters of its executive.

Calcutta has the heart, but not always the abiding

membership necessary to the carrying on of a historical society. Generally speaking, those best competent to sustain its efforts will drift to England and mostly to London. Men, usually of means and leisure, richly endowed with the intellectual equipment for successfully following on with the research work commenced in Calcutta, are perpetually re-settling at home. An Englishman in Calcutta, joining the Calcutta Historical Society, would feel while there that the time, thought and energy devoted to the cause would not be wasted by reason of his efforts coming to an abrupt and lasting termination. Were it possible for him to continue his studies in England in association with others similarly minded, he would be all the more likely to interest himself in the society before retirement, and so both East and West would benefit by the extension of the scope of the society I am now advocating. Probably at least half of the original active numbers of the Calcutta Historical Society are now on this side. I need not mention names, but I feel convinced that many of them would welcome the opportunity for resumption of former interest in its affairs. At first a London Calcutta Historical Society would be possessed of a comparatively small membership, but growth would be cumulative, whereas the Calcutta membership would invariably tend in the direction of depletion.

In anticipation of any proposal that may be made for the establishment of an Indian Historical Society in London rather than a London Calcutta Society only, I would remind you that India is as large as Europe, without Russia. It would be a bold venture to attempt the launching of a "European (without Russia) Historical Society." A London Calcutta Historical Society (like Calcutta's annual London dinner) would bring together old Calcutta friends and others in a common cause and on enduring ground. If there is one thing almost as pleasant as meeting an Anglo-Indian friend in London, it is meeting almost any Anglo-Indian here. I met a member of the

Calcutta Historical Society very recently in the vicinity of a Tube bookstall in the salubrious district of King's Cross. We had probably seen each other a thousand times in Old Court House Street, but had never exchanged a word in our lives, and so rushed into each other's arms to make up for lost time. One whiff of the "Black Hole" on the Underground makes the whole British nature akin.

It is true that we in London would be operating on a different stage, and amid duller and less inspiring surroundings. All the wondrous waterway of the Hooghly would be but a glorious and receding memory. The lavish hospitality of His Highness the Nawab of crumbling Murshidabad in his pictured palace behind the massive portico of many steps would be missing, and the impulsive generosity of the Maharajah Adiraj of Burdwan would be no longer at our disposal. There would be no snorting steamer tugging at her mooring chains by an eccentric timbered bridge to bear us away to river fronting Serampore, Barrackpore, Chundernagore, Chinsurah and Hooghly, on towards lost Satgaon and the mysterious Sarasvathi. Glimpses of the immemorial pilgrim way from the purple rim of the back of beyond to Cherangi and Kalikshetra would be denied us. The heavenly rhetoric of the eyes of Catherine Noel Verlée, la Princesse de Talleyrand, would never laugh a greeting from some old French esplanade, and a spectral Dupleix, carrying a broken sword, would fail to elicit homage to bravery knowing no nationality by the cobra-haunted jungles of Ghiretty. The grim figure of Kali, garlanded with skulls, would not be for us to gaze upon ; and the cry of Siva, "drunk with the loss" of Sakti, would never be borne upon the wind, as, rushing through the realms of space with the body of his loved wife transfixated upon a trident, he called on Vishnu and all the high gods of a universe to avenge a desecrated hearth. We could no longer almost hear the pounding of Watson's guns upon the falling bastions of Fort Orleans, or sit with Carey in his study, or with Martin in his water-washed

Pagoda. The despairing knell from the blazing belfry of St. Anne's, as church and fort went down before the flaming brands of a drugged tyrant of a dying dynasty, would clang for us in vain, and the dread last journey of a dead rider on a great elephant, with a ghastly burden, to his sleep beside the sweet-trellised resting-place of Aliverdi Khan, would pass unnoted. All the vast, vivid panorama of the great life of great Calcutta would be shorn for us, here in London, of much of its actuality. We could not live and move and breathe again the very atmosphere of Calcutta's strange, eventful happenings. No *galiass* would ride for us from off Betor, no *pheelkhana* beat smoothly by to the metrical swing of well-plied oars, no drum-beat would sound from the shot-rent entrenchments of gallant Hijili, and the story of the last stand of valiant Saint Frais at Plassey's rout, while horse and elephant, turban and scimitar, plunged from the shrieking field in one mad, red confusion of rain and rapine before the devastating cannon of Robert Clive, would be for us but as the echo of a dream.

But there would be compensations. London lords in India, and there is an India in London. An India, sacred to the shades of mighty Englishmen, who trod its pavements, bowed within its fanes, dominated its marts, planned and waged its fightings, left their presentments upon London canvases, and sleep, in hope of a promised resurrection, amid the kingliest of London's dust. Within a few minutes' walk from this room is the Gothic soul of that stupendous entity—London. In the Abbey—England's Abbey, our Abbey, the one building of the world which is the world epitomized—are many memorials to the victorious galaxy of the living who have died, and who have lived and have died for India. There is enough material for the deep and loving study of Calcutta enthusiasts suggested by the Abbey alone to justify the careful delving into the past of many earnest workers. Wise things, new and old, of strange and varied portent, may yet be brought to light to shed an added lustre to the never-to-be-exhausted story of

the dealings of England with the Orient, entrusted, under God, to her just and mighty keeping. It is not only our privilege, but our duty, to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest," as opportunity offers, all that may be garnered from the records of our national archives, from private memoranda, from pictured canvas and page, from carven stone, and from song, romance, and the promptings of religious impulse concerning the city of "the mid-day halt" of St. Bartholomew's Feast of 1690, what time Dutch William and his reigning Consort willed in Whitehall, and kinged it at Kensington.

Go to the Abbey, and I question if many of you could point at once to Hagbolt's bust of James Rennell, Surveyor-General of Bengal, geographer, scientist, and soldier, the son-in-law of old "Syhlet" Thackeray. To find it you must climb round the great cenotaph of Lord Salisbury by the West door, a pretty large arrangement in decorative bronze to circumnavigate. Even the pallid bust of Warren Hastings, calmly wondering at the opposing glories of the new John Bunyan window, is probably unfamiliar to many here. The younger Bacon created it, Warren's "elegant" Marian set it up, and a grateful country allowed the disconsolate widow to pay for it. Warren Hastings' pre-eminent services to England and India are insufficiently commemorated in London. His statue should be at Westminster, standing, gravely typical of brave endurance, victorious over calumny, against a background of the grey walls of the Red King's Hall. The fact of his having stood the fiery test of trial within that hall ought to be inscribed in brass there—or, better still, in gold—as is that of the Martyr King's similar ordeal. All might then read of it who entered, as they may and do of the last resting-places, but their sepulchres, of William Ewart Gladstone and Edward of England.

Robert Clive has come to Whitehall. Lord Curzon brought him to Whitehall. Were I to write the Life of Lord Curzon it would be in three chapters, and they would all

be very brief—Chapter I: “He brought Clive to Whitehall”; Chapter II : “He brought Clive to Whitehall”; Chapter III : “ He brought Clive to Whitehall and also to Calcutta.” Of all the great and good things Lord Curzon has done, this is transcendently the best. It brings India and her story to London’s man-in-the-street. Clive in St. Paul’s, the rightful Christian “Valhalla” of England’s fighting chiefs, is by no means a dream difficult of realization ; and another is that of Clive, upreared upon a monumental pillar, rising from an island in the centre of the Lall Dighee Lake in the heart of the Calcutta of Clive’s own day ; a pillar dominating the city stretching around where old Fort William flamed—the city he rescued from unmentionable wrongs, and, after its recovery, led in the way of becoming a power making for civilization. There are incidents in Clive’s career which may seem to forbid these honours. Whether we be English or Bengali, we all have at the back of our hearts a latent faith in the old adage : “ It is better to die than to lie.” The truth associated with the “ Lall Khagaz ” incident of Plassey’s tragedy is a terrible truth. It is not for us to condone the perfidy of Clive. But it is for us to remember that but for his conduct then, not only he and his band of splendid Englishmen would have been cut down, but in all probability the lives of every European in India would have been sacrificed, and not only those of the men, but, sadder still, those of the women and the children would have been taken. Then, too, there is a shadow over his death. Pain, unthinkable compelling pain, may weaken the stanchest will, and quench the most indomitable courage. It is with no irreverence that I say to you, “ Let him who is without sin among us cast the first stone ” at the record of Clive of Plassey. It is more than likely that a Calcutta Historical Society in London might do something—not very much, perhaps, but still something—towards the bringing of Warren Hastings to Westminster Hall, and Robert Clive to St. Paul’s.

There are other services a London Calcutta Historical

Society might render. It might move in the matter of transferring Chantrey's neglected Hastings' statue in the Town Hall vestibule, and Bacon's still more obscured monument of Cornwallis in a cellar of that effete and tremulous pile, not to the newly rising spick-and-span Victoria Hall on the maidan, for which they are earmarked, but to St. John's Church, "the Chapel-at-the-Bay," the noble old cathedral of the Olympian days, associated with the personality of both of them. The record of Hastings' marriage is on St. John's Register. Cornwallis loved St. John's.

I will show you directly a view of the "Black Hole," as Lord Curzon left it, and as it is to-day. The "Black Hole" is the real cradle of British India, as distinct from the India of the early traders and adventurers. It stands indicative of the spot—

"Where the Nawab's shield was shattered at the parting of the ways,"

and the land was brought well within the company of the really forceful nations of the world. You will see from the picture how architecturally inadequate is the Curzonian "Black Hole" for all that it ought to be. For some decades its very site was unknown. I have a photograph, which I took many years ago, of the "Black Hole" when it wasn't where it is. The photograph is almost unique, because I don't think many people took the trouble to take one at a time when the "Black Hole" was somewhere else than it ever had been. A tablet over an arch told an untrue tale, and I caused a most self-respecting camera to perpetuate it. Lord Curzon came along, bent upon tracking Truth to her lair. He didn't find Truth at the bottom of a well, he refound the "Black Hole" where a something resembling nature had put it, and the Nawab's ruthless guards had afterwards unfortunately chanced upon it in 1756. Having found it, His Excellency buried it, and placed a big, flat, black slab over the remains. I don't think he quite did justice to the "Black Hole." The "Black Hole" is not dead yet and never will be. I want

to see the dismal slab carted away, the funereal railings removed, the actual chamber, now below the level of the ground, cleared of its rubbish, and the hidden walls of momentous memories revealed for all to see. It should be quite possible to erect over the old masonry a well-appointed little building, with a doorway (locked as a rule) giving access to, what has become, the vault below. The cost of doing this would be small, but the change would present an historical site of the greatest Imperial interest in far more satisfactory guise to all who halted by the epoch-marking enclosure. There are those who say, "Better bury the thing." The talk of the thoughtless! The "Black Hole" is dear to every Englishman. To the wiser Indian it is a symbol, not of hatred, but of wisdom overcoming hatred. There are lewd fellows of the baser sort of all nationalities in Calcutta who might profess indignation at any lifting into farther prominence of this relic of an age of anger, and who might even go to the extent of doing it an injury. They need not be listened to. I know the Bengali; the Bengali is putting away childish things. I am convinced that to him the "Black Hole" is no longer symbolic of the retarding of Bengal's national aspirations. His aspirations are our aspirations, and he would be heart and soul with us in a natural desire to adequately mark and exhibit this precious reminder of the furious past, when united India of to-day was in the making.

There is no monument to Vice-Admiral Charles Watson of the Blue in Calcutta. He sleeps in St. John's compound, not far from "Billy" Speke, the little midshipman of the *Kent*—a boy who had stood upon the burning deck, and who bore himself in death as bravely as any English lad, in peril and pain, has ever yet faced a tragic ending. But Watson is in the Abbey. Scheemaker's flamboyant monument is of its period and should remain untouched, though it is not the sort of thing we of to-day would erect. "Calcutta freed"—a fine figure of a woman—is kneeling, in

the act of remarking, "Thank you very much, Mr. Watson!" while the Admiral of the Blue, in diaphanous attire, replies from a shelf higher up, "Oh, pray don't mention it, Madam!" But an attendant statue of a typical Indian is superb. I want to see statues of Clive and Watson with those of Bishops Heber and Middleton in St. Paul's Cathedral, and another of Elijah Impey, the Westminster school-fellow of Hastings, in the great hall of the Law Courts at Temple Bar. Philip Francis was not a lovable man, but the banner of Sir Philip Francis, Knight-Commander of the most Honourable the Order of the Bath, is among those threatened with removal in the Chapel of the Seventh Henry in the Abbey. A London Calcutta Historical Society would be acting well within the scope of its proper activities were it to protest against the removal of that dust-worn banner. A London Calcutta Historical Society would see to it that Warren Hastings' doomed London house in Park Lane would not be dismantled if asking for its preservation could save it.

Old prints disclose the fact that originally the dome of Wellesley's Government House was surmounted by a colossal figure of Britannia. One day, during the governorship of Lord Auckland, Britannia descended through the roof. There is a story that His Excellency was shaving at the time, though I cannot vouch for its truth, and I have often wondered who was the more surprised, the gentleman with his soap-suds or the allegorical lady with her toasting-fork. The figure has never been replaced. If Britannia is good enough for the reverse of our coinage she is good enough for the tops of our official buildings. The Calcutta Historical Society might put in a word for her restoration.

But the chief duty of a London Calcutta Historical Society would be the compilation of a History of Calcutta. I am aware of absorbingly interesting volumes already bearing upon Calcutta, but a single illustrated work bringing into focus all the salient facts recorded by many writers is a very real need of the day. Writers on Calcutta are not

only numerous, but they contradict and overlap each other. To mention all would be no easy matter, among them the names of Orme, Busteed, Foster, Hunter, Ray, Hill, Wilson, Hyde, Buckland, Firminger, Blechynden and Cotton drop readily from the pen. There is a mine of historical ore in the pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*, alone needing collation and better assimilation in printed form. In the old book and picture shops of London, in the galleries, museums and palaces, from Greenwich to Windsor, are a host of portraits and other works of art, of moment to Calcutta, clamouring for reproduction. Such a history must be compiled and will be compiled. The plans for its production should be laid, its scope and its limits fixed, and the machinery got ready for its accomplishment. A Calcutta Historical Society publishing a London *Bengal: Past and Present*, seems the first desideratum for the attainment of a reliable, reasonably exhaustive, and well-expressed history of Calcutta; a reference work to be turned to when in doubt, with some certainty of its offering aid to the inquirer; a readable, comprehensive, and readily available story of the Second City of the British Empire in the making—Calcutta, "the Premier City," not inaptly designated "one great graveyard of memories."

I wish there were time to tell you all I would about Calcutta: there are, however, others to whom I must leave the task. "Pagett, M.P." is still resident all around London. You may meet him at Bayswater, Turnham Green, or Peckham Rye, and "Pagett, M.P." is ever a willing discouser and writer on "Solar Myths" and other political and social disorders. So long as "the Argosies of Asia heap their stores at her doors" (a truth, though it isn't poetry) so long will "the Premier City," and no longer, hold her own as the "Queen City of Asia"—an Imperial emblem in gleaming *chunam* covered masonry of "Power on Silt." A fair place to live in, a fair place to die in, as Joseph Townshend found when the long days of his piloting were done. We can learn of Townshend from his quaintly-

lettered slab set in the platform of Charnock's domed mausoleum in the ancient settlement graveyard. There is all the glow, all the pathos, all the fighting, all the working, all the wailing, and all the laughter of Calcutta's story packed away, if only we rightly look for them, in Dr. Norman Chever's verses on that slab of the old Pilot, "Skilful and Industrious," lying a-thinking and a-dying :

"Sounding, sounding the Ganges, floating down with the tide,
Moor me close by Charnock, next to my nut-brown bride—
The morning gun! Ho, steady—the arquebus to me—
I've sounded the Dutch High Admiral's heart, as my lead doth
sound the sea."

And what a story it is! What faces peer and what forms pass from out the mist of the years. John Goldsbrough, like Balbus of old, building his wall around an inner enclosure when as yet Charnock's grave was but newly dug—himself passing to a nameless tomb within a few months. David Ochterlony, of the towering pillar upon the green maidan, "Clemency" Canning, Henry Meredith Parker, Thomas Babington Macaulay, William Makepeace Thackeray, the versatile Mrs. Fay, the "Begum" Johnson with her turban, Clavering, Monson and Zoffany, Dalhousie, Kesub Chunder Sen, Hicky of the virulent "Gazette," Hamilton, Ives and Holwell, Wajid Ali Shah, John Palmer, "Prince of Merchants," Ormichand, Vansittart, Mrs. Leach the burning actress, Kitty Kirkpatrick and Tilly Kettle, are but a chance medley of personages on the life tale of each of whom I might dwell for long, and they represent at random but a thousandth part of the muster roll of Calcutta's crowded stage of palpitating life and legend.

Every one of us who loves Calcutta has his or her favourite legend. I like that best of the old ghost carriage, still frequently driven up to the portico of "Hastings House" in that suburb of subdued memories, Alipore, on angry nights when a high red moon is disc'd large against a purple velvet sky. A little grey man alights, and runs within to mount the stairs to seek the letters hid within a

rickety, ramshackle old bureau in a great upper room, with a deep cornice where doves are brooding. He returns, disconsolate, and with a gesture of bitter disappointment re-enters the ghost-coach. The shadowy horses plunge forward and out into the night. The Governor-General has failed to find his letters. May it not be that they still repose in the tall old house by London's Marble Arch, where the omnibuses go by to Edgware Road—the house where Hastings hoped against hope during the long, long years of that tedious and costly trial—the house now about to be consigned to the tender mercies of the pick and spade and hammer of the house-breaker, which are cruel? I love that story of the spectral steeds and the discomfited Hastings. I believe in that story—every turn of wheel, every soundless movement of hoof—of that old-time coach; and those steaming horses with the startled eyes are very real to me. And the best of it all is that the tale is true. Horses, Hastings, and silently lumbering coach still drive in and out of the old portico on nights when the moon is round and red, and the ramparts of Clive's new fort show white in mellowed splendour against the night-rack of a shaggy sky.

The Queen was dead, and all India mourned. We had read of the last voyage across the Solent; of the cortège in London's streets; of the passing from Paddington to Windsor. A great meeting clustered round the Cornwallis statue in the Town-hall, and the Viceroy, persuasive with the eloquence of true statesmanship, appealed for an Indian memorial to Victoria. All India responded. The rich gave of their wealth, and the poor of their poverty. Within a few weeks half a million sterling was subscribed. The money came from the Indians mostly, a striking testimony to the loyalty of India, a standing rebuke to the assertion that India is at heart seditious.

I want to see an Indian hall in London—a hall adequately symbolic of the might, majesty, and power of India, as the greatest of the federated dominions of the Empire. The

idea is a sentimental one. It is sentiment that has left us St. James's Park, and placed the Wellington Arch by Apsley House. It is lack of sentiment that has endowed London with leagues of unlovely streets, and has consigned tens of thousands of our fellow citizens to the clutch of a slumdom of body, and soul-destroying infamy. We want more sentiment in London.

In 1910 Mr. C. E. D. Black read a paper before this Association suggestive of an Indian Museum as a memorial to King Edward on the Surrey side of the Thames, near the new County Council Hall, abutting on Westminster Bridge, and his eloquent address is reported at length in our journal for July, 1910. I will not take up your time with a recapitulation of the points then raised, but would commend to your attention not only Mr. Black's Edwardian appeal, but also that of Lord Curzon on February 26, 1901, at a meeting of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, as reported in the *Journal of the Queen Victoria Indian Memorial Fund* for April, 1901. The spirit prompting my proposal to-day is that which animated Lord Curzon and Mr. Black in their trenchant onslaughts upon the citadel of utilitarianism. The Viceroy's dream is now materializing in bricks, marble, and mortar in Calcutta, and I will shortly show you a picture of the hall substantially as it will appear when finished. Mr. Black's scheme, beyond eliciting from the able pencil of Mr. Chisholm a laudable design for a Surrey-side building, has so far failed in attaining to any sort of recognition as a matter for practical consideration.

The fact of India being of paramount moment to the Empire needs to be brought home to the minds and consciences of London in a tangible and visible form. The Australian Commonwealth is building in the Strand. The finest site in all London is derelict across the water at the blunt shoulder of the Thames where Waterloo Bridge reaches the further shore. The newly formed "London Society" is bestirring itself. The provision of a great river embankment from St. Mary Overy's at Southwark to

the Lollards' Tower at Lambeth is rapidly coming within the sphere of London's probabilities of the near future, and that terrible bar-sinister across the fairest view of all the capital, Charing Cross railway-bridge, stands a very fair chance of relegation to a world of things passed away and unregretted. I beg respectfully to suggest the renaming of Northumberland Avenue "Trafalgar Avenue," and its extension along its present direction over a new bridge ("Trafalgar Bridge"), the exact counterpart of Waterloo Bridge, to the Surrey side, and there, at the junction of the two bridges, the erection of a Plassey Hall. Waterloo, Plassey, Trafalgar : Wellington, Clive, Nelson—a trinity of Imperial inspiration, uplifting as an ideal of lofty and lasting significance.

Plassey Hall would be for the assemblage of everything relating to India of historical value : statues, busts, portraits, banners, paintings, engravings, coins, stamps, treaties, books, manuscripts, autographs, photographs, models, maps, plans, records, personal relics, trophies, weapons, reduced reproductions of Indian buildings of charm and interest, and frescoes depicting memorable battles and other incidents, such as—to quote Lord Curzon—"Panipat, Plassey, Sobraon, Assaye, Miani ; the self-immolation of the Rani and women of Chitor ; the Rahtor Queen closing the gates against her defeated husband ; the first audience of British factors with the great Mogul ; the relief of Lucknow's Residency ; the Delhi Durbar of 1877"; and, I will add, the Delhi Durbar of 1911.

I will not labour the urging upon you of the desirability of entertaining this great ideal. Around the hall might be grouped some of the Indian statues now misplaced in London streets, together with replicas of many in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and other Indian towns. The whole of the valuable contents of the pleasantly-provided little Indian Museum at South Kensington would become better known if arranged in Plassey Hall, as also would many objects of surpassing interest now in the larger Kensington Museum.

the Guildhall, Greenwich Palace, the India Office, and other public institutions. On an appeal to the Indian Princes and peoples, most of the money for the cost and upkeep of the hall would be generously and promptly subscribed. In the heart of the mighty pile an exquisite Durbar chamber would be set up, in which, down through the years, the crowning of each future British King as Kaisar-i-Hind of Hindustan, would be solemnized.

In the event of a river site for the hall being found to be unavailable, there is one other, if possible, even more majestic for the purpose. I hesitate to mention it even, because I might be taken to be advocating the needless destruction of London's costliest and loveliest mantelpiece ornament—the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. If the Palace must go—and as a Londoner I sincerely hope it may be saved—there is no site in all England more suited than the Sydenham ridge for an Imperial Indian hall. The Sydenham grounds, cleared of their present imitative excrescences, sloping down from a larger replica of Calcutta's now rising marble hall, as an impressive public pleasance would be superb for the purpose—the hall, the architectural delight and coroneted historical glory of all London, dominating a wonderland of landscape from Croydon to Hampstead, and from Blackheath to Richmond.

* I will now show you a series of views of Calcutta,* "the Premier City." One or two are taken from paintings made locally by the Daniells at the close of the eighteenth century. Most of them are typically illustrative of the beauty of Calcutta, and all bring home with force the charm and settled prosperity of the place. Among them is a view of the High Court. In the Court is the Judge's Library, a magnificent chamber exclusively devoted to the use of

* Many of these were kindly lent to the lecturer by the Royal Society of Arts, and are understood to be the property of Mr. C. E. Buckland. Mr. Raffles Davison's Thames views were exhibited by permission of the editor of the *British Architect*.

the higher administrators of justice in India. Around the walls are hanging an almost complete series of portraits of the Chief Justices. It begins with that by Zoffany of Elijah Impey, and, when I last saw it, a year or two ago, it ended with that of Sir Robert Fulton, our chairman to-day. I have reason to suppose that Sir Robert's portrait is not by Zoffany, but "by another hand."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, s.w., on Thursday, May 22, 1913, a lantern lecture was delivered by Wilmet Corfield, Esq., F.R.P.S.L. (late Hon. Treasurer, Calcutta Historical Society), entitled "Calcutta : 'The Premier City.'" Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present : Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., the Hon. Narayanrao Babasahib Ghorapade, Chief of Inchalkaranji, Mr. J. E. O'Conor, C.I.E., Colonel A. F. Laughton, C.B., Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mrs. and Miss Corfield, Mr. R. H. Elliot and the Hon. Mrs. Elliot, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. B. Singh, Miss Carpenter, Mr. P. Dutt, Lady Low, Mr. M. B. Tyabji, I.C.S., Mr. Bayley, Mr. J. A. Tillear, M.V.O., and Miss M. Tillear Mrs. H. Wood, Miss Webster, Mrs. Chalmers, Miss De Thoren, Miss Pringle, the Rev. Mr. Hind, Mr. W. Durran, Mr. C. S. Campbell, I.C.S., Mr. J. M. Mehta, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Sholto Douglas, Mrs. Furnell, Mr. and Mrs. McGoren, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Sirdar Habibullah Khan, Mr. R. C. C. Carr, I.C.S., Mr. P. C. I. Pillai, Mr. C. E. D. Black, Mrs. Jackson, Captain Lang, Mr. L. V. Joshi, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. M. V. Desai, Mrs. and Miss Cosford, Mr. W. Seton, Mrs. Peck, Mr. D. G. Cameron, Mrs. Farquharson, Mr. and Mrs. Hunter, Mr. Roney Dougal, Mr. A. Khan, Mr. Puttaiya, Mr. A. Hamid, Mrs. Mason, Miss Mason, Mr. Khurdad Rustomji, Mr. F. H. Barrow, Major E. B. Evans and Mrs. Evans, Mr. F. J. Cook, Mr. H. M. Kershaw, Mrs. Fitzroy Mundy, Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. H. M. Percival, Mr. K. S. Menon, Mr. F. P. Merchant, Mr. S. C. Guha, Mr. S. Hadwyn, Mr. F. S. Mirza, Mr. Khan Mohamed Nawaz Khan, Mr. Sada Ram Thind, Mrs. Oakeley, Mr. W. H. Gassison, Mr. W. Stanley Green, Mrs. A. E. Webster, Mr. and Mrs. Ormsby Hamilton, Miss Raban, Miss Halksworth, Mr. A. E. Wild, Mr. J. L. Devine, Mr. William Touche, Mr. Alfred Kremler, Professor Dr. Lierau, Mr. Schoener, Lady Eggar, Colonel G. F. A. Harris, C.S.I., I.M.S., Mrs. G. F. A. Harris, Lieutenant-Colonel D. C. Phillott, I.A., the Hon. Justice

Sir Richard Harington, Bart., Mr. and Mrs. B. Gordon Jones, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mrs. Banks, Mrs. W. Roberts and Miss Roberts, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

SIR ROBERT FULTON: Ladies and gentlemen, our lecturer of this afternoon must be a stranger to most of you, as he has only recently retired from India. I therefore propose to say a few words for the purpose of introducing him to you.

Mr. Corfield and I were fellow-residents of Calcutta for about twenty years, and yet we never came across each other in our professional capacities. Mr. Corfield followed the profession of an accountant, but my accounts never stood in need of elucidation; even my bank pass-books never required to be examined, so I had no occasion to avail myself of Mr. Corfield's professional skill. On the other hand, Mr. Corfield never came before me in the High Court, even as an expert witness. Accountants often appear in the courts as expert witnesses. We judges divide the witnesses who give evidence before us into three classes—first, there is the ordinary—lying—witness; second, there is the extraordinary—lying—witness; and third, there is the expert witness. I remember two expert witnesses giving evidence before me in a land valuation case. There was a house on the land worth at the most about £2,000, yet two expert witnesses appeared before me and swore that the house was worth exactly £4,000. The curious thing was that their estimates agreed within a few shillings of each other. They swore they had made their valuations independently; that they had never consulted each other, and even that each was unaware that the other was valuing the house. Seeing that in India the art of valuation has not been reduced to an exact science—I am not speaking of England, nor of what the art of land valuation may come to here—it struck me that the congruity of the estimates of these two expert witnesses was nothing short of miraculous! I could tell you other stories about expert witnesses, but then they would have nothing to do with Mr. Corfield.

Mr. Corfield and I became acquainted with each other when we joined the Calcutta Historical Society—a society established some eight years ago for the purpose of studying the archaeology of Calcutta and the neighbourhood—and keeping fresh in our memories the great historical events with which almost every nook and cranny of Calcutta is associated. As members of this Society Mr. Corfield and I examined together the site—or, rather, the reputed sites—of the Black Hole. We inspected the remaining wall of the old Fort; we wandered about Alipore in search of the spot where Warren Hastings and Philip Francis met in mortal combat; we gazed at Job Charnock's monument and the graves of Admiral Watson and of the Midshipman Billy Speke in St. John's Churchyard, as well as the long line of High Court Judges who lie buried there. In those days Calcutta was a very deadly place. The European inhabitants met at the conclusion of each rainy season. They took count of each other and congratulated themselves on being still alive; they then dined together—at two o'clock p.m., the usual dinner hour. After a heavy repast of beef, mutton, poultry, pilau, and curry and rice, washed down with at least three bottles of *loll sharab*, refrigerated with saltpetre and Glauber's salts

and topped up with *brandy pani*, they were finally carried home in palanquins, and helped to bed by their faithful bearers. In those days every European gentleman kept a set of palanquin bearers and a headman or *sirdar*. When they were not carrying the palanquin they were employed on household duties. Hence, all the domestic servants in Calcutta and Bengal are now called "bearers," and the head servant is styled *sirdar*.

Mr. Corfield and I also made excursions down the Hooghly to Diamond Harbour and Fulta, and up the river to Serampore and Chandernagore. We travelled as far as Moorshedabad and visited together the battlefield of Plassy. We saw the *Palash*, or cotton, trees, which give their name to the village near which the battle was fought. We did not see the celebrated mango grove, for it was long ago swept away by the river. But we learnt the secret of Clive's victory, and how with only 3,000 men he put to flight 50,000 of the enemy. The fact is that the battle was fought in the end of June, just at the beginning of the torrential rains of Bengal. During the middle of the battle a heavy shower of rain came on. Clive's men had tarpaulins; they covered up their powder and their guns. As soon as the rain was over they commenced firing again. Suraja Dowlah's men had no tarpaulins; their powder was damped and they could not return the fire, so they ran away. Suraja Dowlah led the way with 2,000 horsemen; his troops followed; the last to go were the Frenchman, St. Frais, and his artillerymen. But they, too, had to flee in the end. This is how we conquered Bengal, all owing to a shower of rain!

Mr. Corfield used to write accounts of our excursions in the Society's magazine, *Bengal: Past and Present*, which is a perfect storehouse of historical lore.

In addition to his literary talents Mr. Corfield is a learned philatelist. When the King visited Calcutta, Mr. Corfield was sent for, and told His Majesty something about India's postage-stamps.

I may mention one thing more about Mr. Corfield. I hope this won't put you against him, but he is a bit of a poet. He used to write verses, which appeared in the local papers, about current events and notable personages, always signed with the *nom de plume* of "Dak." Some of the most interesting of these verses are those in which he had hits at me! I never knew who "Dak" was until I had left Calcutta, but my friendship with Mr. Corfield has remained uninterrupted. I will detain you no longer, but will now invite Mr. Corfield to read his paper.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, then read his paper, which was followed by numerous illustrations by lantern.

DR. ABDUL MAJID said it was some years since he had left Calcutta, and he was under the impression he had forgotten all about the place. The pictures shown that afternoon had been most entertaining, and made him feel as if he were once more in Calcutta, where he had once spent a period of five or six years. He always used to think that Calcutta was one of the most picturesque cities in the world, before he had seen other places. To-day he had seen a great many of the fine buildings of Europe—in France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Turkey—and his impression now was that some of the pictures now shown to them of

Calcutta compared very favourably indeed with the buildings he had seen. He was often told that the English people had done very little in India, and that if they were to leave India to-day there would be nothing but a few broken bottles left; but after the fine pictures they had seen he thought they would hardly agree with that. If the English were to leave India there would be a great many monuments to their credit there in the future. He had enjoyed the pictures thoroughly, and he, no doubt, as well as the rest of the audience, was looking forward to the establishment of an Indian hall in England, and on his own behalf and on behalf of his countrymen he would welcome the realization of such an idea by the generosity of the English people, and he for one would do his best to help towards that great end if that ideal could be recognized. As to the future use of the now vacant Belvedere he would suggest the establishment of a club for the Indians and the English.

Mr. C. E. BUCKLAND said that he had not come prepared to say anything special about Calcutta, but anyone who had resided there off and on as he had done for more than thirty-three years could not help knowing something about the subject, more especially as some years ago, in January, 1906, he had read a paper before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts, on Calcutta and its history. It was therefore quite impossible for him to pretend that he knew nothing about Calcutta, although it was nine years since he had left the place, and he was told that Calcutta has so changed during that time that anyone now going back would hardly recognize it. They were deeply obliged to Mr. Corfield for his paper, more especially for omitting a good many things he might have given them, such as statistics and facts and figures. He noticed particularly that he had not given them the population of Calcutta, or the area covered by the city and the suburbs; although all those things were very interesting they could be easily obtained from the various gazetteers. He had been intensely interested in the many historical allusions which had been accurately made, and he would like to refer shortly to two particular points of Mr. Corfield's paper. The first of these was that there should be a really authentic history of Calcutta, which should absorb all the other histories that had been written, and, secondly, that there should be a memorial of India on one of the best sites available in the metropolis of England. He did not like the word "memorial," because memorials were generally put up to persons and things that had passed away. That could hardly be said of India, nor was it likely to pass away. He would rather prefer to say a building which would be an embodiment of England's rule in India, which would remind those who had left India, and remind the English nation that they held the finest property in the world—the Indian Empire. Those were the two points of real importance, but he rather fancied that to write a history of Calcutta properly would take many volumes, and the difficulty would be to find a publisher, as, no doubt, such monumental books on India would hardly pay their way. A book on historical lines with personal narratives would be extremely interesting, but he was afraid it would never be profitable to the author and publisher unless largely subsidized by the Government. He himself had had some experience in the matter, because some years he

brought out a dictionary of Indian biography, and there were many copies of that work still available, but at a reduced price. He had tried at various times to get the India Office and the Government of India to take up another similar work, but they simply would not look at it, and he had been repulsed with very curt answers of about two lines to his applications. He would like to see such a thing done, and there were several men in England capable of doing it, but he was afraid he could not regard any such proposition as anything but one of great difficulty.

As to the second point, the idea of a great hall or institution embodying the idea of England's rule in India, he thought there would be enormous difficulty in getting the money. The rich Indian potentates might be induced to contribute handsomely to such an object, but he rather thought they had become a little wary of that sort of thing ; they came down very handsomely at the time of the establishment of the Imperial Institute, and he had always understood that they were a little sore at the very poor result that had accrued from their splendid donations on that occasion. (Hear, hear.) There would be no objection to appealing to the Indian potentates again, but it would need to be distinctly understood that the matter should be carefully watched, so that some real result was attained, and the money not frittered away, and that they were not presented with any more "white elephants." They would have to go to the House of Commons, and to approach the India Office, and they would have to appeal to the British public, and he could foresee enormous difficulties ; at each stage of the proceedings there would be wrangling and trouble and worry about the money, and about the style, and every conceivable question would crop up. Still, he maintained that it should be done, and ought to be done. If they had been anything but Englishmen the thing would have been done long ago, but because they were what they were—Englishmen—they seemed incapable of realizing the splendid idea. They knew Lord Curzon had achieved his great idea of a Memorial Hall in Calcutta, and it would be a really splendid thing when it was done. But the same difficulties did not occur in Calcutta, where the Government was still strong, and where a great object of that sort to the memory of our Great Queen appealed to all the potentates and to the populations of the Indian Provinces. It would not be so easy to do that in England as it had been in Calcutta.

Having said so much of the difficulties, he did not want it to be supposed that he was against these ideas ; difficulties occurred for the purpose of being overcome, and nothing would please him more than to see an Indian Historical Society started in England with powerful support, and with a small committee who would really take some interest in the idea, and work for it until it was accomplished. It was no use starting great schemes unless they were prepared to work and carry them through. There certainly ought to be such a society, and it ought to charge itself with the duty of pushing through these two great objects. (Hear, hear.)

MR. COLDSTREAM said that it was with the greatest pleasure that he proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his most instructive lecture. The Chairman had rightly said, when he sketched some of the characteristics of the lecturer, that he was a poet ; he had visions, and it was the

realization of visions which made the great facts of life and history. He associated himself heartily with what had fallen from Mr. Buckland as to the desirability of the realization of both those ideals which had been put before them by the lecturer. A London-Calcutta Historical Society was entirely a new idea so far as he knew. With regard to the idea of an institute he had often felt and expressed himself from time to time as to the necessity of there being an adequate presentation of India in London. Many associations and societies had been founded, and were doing good work; but no one of them could be held to stand for an adequate presentation of India in all its interests. In the Royal Colonial Institute they had a society of 5,000 members, representing the comparatively small population of the Colonies, whereas India with its 315 millions had not a society anything like so strong. The membership of all societies connected with India taken together would not nearly equal that number.

MR. BLACK, in seconding the proposal, said he had had the pleasure of speaking before them some years ago, and he was very much obliged to the lecturer for the kind remarks he made on his paper, which was practically on the same lines.

The motion on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

SIR,

May I venture to claim the hospitality of your columns to say a few words on the subject of a proposed Indian museum or hall in London, which formed the chief feature in Mr. Wilmot Corfield's picturesque lecture, "*Calcutta : 'The Premier City,'*" before the Association on the 22nd instant. I was very pleased to find that Mr. Corfield agreed with most of what I had ventured to advocate in my lecture of June 13, 1910, "*An India Museum as a Memorial of His late Majesty King Edward VII.*" One cardinal point thereof being that such a museum should be erected on the Surrey shore of the Thames, next door to the new County Council Hall which is (very) slowly uprising just below Westminster Bridge. This site was pronounced by Lord Curzon at the time to be a "*very noble one,*" and Mr. Corfield endorses this opinion, as he describes it in much the same terms as Mr. Chisholm, the author of the design for the museum, as "*the finest site in the world.*"

The chief reason why I suggested that particular spot has, however, been rather lost sight of. Both the ground and the structure thereon belong to the India Office, hence at the very outset one is saved the great cost of purchasing a spacious site elsewhere in the centre of official London. This consideration is highly important. It does conceivably involve the removal of the India Store Depot to the vicinity of the docks, where goods can be easily and expeditiously shipped without being lightered or conveyed by van down to the Port of London. But I rather gather from what the late Director-General of Stores for India said that the supply and examination of English stores for conveyance to India is a declining business, and that eventually *India farà da se*, if one may venture to parody Italy's favourite boast, is now the popular cry in India

so far as Government stores are concerned. If, therefore, the Store Depot is no longer essential, the erection of an Indian museum on the site seems a very appropriate idea. It would also be carrying out the first great step in the beautification of South London which Lord Curzon so eloquently advocates in the February number of the *Nineteenth Century*.

Mr. Corfield's alternative site was the Crystal Palace, but apart from its enormous initial cost, the wisdom of erecting the ideal Indian museum miles away from London seems open to question. I have maintained from the outset that what is mainly wanted is for India to be properly boomed and advertised, so as to create a healthy general knowledge of, and interest in, that distant country among the men in the street, working men, and the public at large. These are the people one wants to educate, and you can only do it by erecting the typical Indian hall or museum in the most conspicuous and striking place possible, in the capital of the United Kingdom, in the heart of the Empire, within touch of all our Government offices and our Houses of Parliament, and almost in sight of the palace of our King.

As to the cost it has always seemed to me that England ought to bear her honest share, and ought not to leave India and her Princes and merchants to bear the whole burden. The wealth, actual and indirect, and prestige conferred on our great country by the possession of India are almost incalculable. It is our business to bring it home to the electorate, so that the example now being set by Australia and numerous other Colonies in erecting offices and emporia in the Strand and vicinity may be followed by the Government and all those interested in India on a scale commensurate with its overwhelming importance.

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES E. D. BLACK.

23, CLIFTON GARDENS,
FOLKESTONE.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. **PEEPS INTO PERSIA.** By Madame d'Hermalle. (London : *Hurst and Blackett.*)

An admirable title! It is just a succession of kaleidoscopic "peeps" into the life and conditions of life of the Persian and of the European in Persia from the everyday point of view. And here and there we come across brief sentences that are deliciously graphic. For instance, after two whole pages devoted to an attempt to give the "reader"—to whom, by the way, the book is dedicated—an idea of Persian music, the authoress relieves her soul with the concise and pregnant clause : "I almost prefer the gramophone." What a facer for the gramophone companies! And when I think that very enlightened and intelligent friends of our acquaintance pride themselves on their gramophones!

When we reach Chapter V., "The Women of the Anderoun," we of the sterner sex must fain confess that there Madame d'Hermalle has completely the advantage of us. Unless we be of the medical profession the "Anderoun" is not for us. We may form some vague conception of its atmosphere from "Les Désenchantées" of Pierre Loti, the "Lettres Persanes" of Montesquieu, the "Haji Baba" of Morier, the "Asie Mineure" of Poujoulat, and, with more cynical effrontery, from the "Scheherezade" of the Russian ballet; but the "Anderoun" of the Baroness d'Hermalle lacks the spiciness of the classic writers and dancers just mentioned. It is true to life, no doubt, and quite matter of fact.

The *Spectator* of May 17 tears the veil from the affected boredom of two Turkish women in Europe, whose lucubrations some English woman has thought worthy of translation into her own language. These two women affect to be bored with all that is European; but, retorts the *Spectator*, "the modern Turkish woman of the upper class is bored to death." The modern Persian woman has already blossomed into a Suffragette and a staunch advocate of constitutional government. The Persian woman deserves not to be bored; and if Madame d'Hermalle is to be believed, she cannot be, for she tells us that they carry on "endless intrigues," and that the liberty which they enjoy leads to an exceptional "degree of immorality." This is hardly boredom.

Madame d'Hermalle leads us amid the charms of the Summer Legations near Teheran to the more prosaic topics of the Belgian Customs Service, the Swedish Gendarmerie, and the Cossacks of the Shah's guard. The Journalism of Persia is outside her scope. Professor E. G. Browne, recently before the Persia Society, opened the eyes of his hearers when he stated that from 360 to 370 Persian newspapers were known to exist, papers not only of the ordinary "daily" type, but illustrated, comic, critical, and satirical.

The illustrations (fifty-one in all from photographs) in the Baroness's book are excellent, and give a capital idea of Persian life, scenery, and, in some cases, architecture and archaeology.

I remember well, thirty-two years ago, visiting the Mission (C.M.S.) School at Julfa, near Ispahan. Madame d'Hermalle devotes a chapter to "Education and Medicine." Progress certainly has been made since 1881, but when I read, at the end of Chapter XI., that poor bullied and benighted Persia sets aside "three thousand pounds a year to create sanitary establishments in the ports of the Caspian Sea," I say to myself: "It is Russia that has the entire navigation of the Caspian Sea. Persia has not one sail or steamer on the Caspian; and yet she has to find the money for the sanitation of the ports. The Colossus of the North is a colossal bully. And there are those who think that the Russian can be made to evacuate Azerbaijan! I would I could believe the same. Russia has just told the Powers that the policy of the Middle East must be the policy approved by the Powers. I would almost welcome such a coalition of Britain, France, and Germany as would make Russia repent her brutalities at Tabriz and Kazvin. To these Madame d'Hermalle, perhaps wisely, does not allude.

Madame d'Hermalle has produced a very readable book of a light description on Persia—a book which is calculated to suit the tastes of those who, while not travellers, still desire to have some idea of the ways of other countries and peoples than their own. The country is one which has just inspired a leader in the *Times* entitled "The Deathbed of an Ancient Monarchy." *Verba sap.*—A. C. YATE.

2. CALENDRIER-ANNUAIRE, 1913. *Observatoire de Zi-ka-wei.* (Shanghai: Catholic Mission Press.)

This is the eleventh year of issue, and there are, including plates, appendices, etc., about 200 pages of first-class matter, astronomical, geographical, commercial, financial, statistical, and so on, all up to date, and all of the very best kind. As each successive issue contains new matter, much of which it is unnecessary to repeat every year, the editors have now conceived the idea of publishing a *Table générale*, or general index, covering the whole eleven volumes; for instance, *Béri-béri* is a very important and interesting disease in the Far East, but, having once read about it in 1904, we do not need to repeat the dose *ad infinitum*, and so we turn up the general index and find "*Béri-béri, 04. 191*"—i.e., page 191 of the *Annuaire* for 1904. The administration system of New Manchuria having once been given in 1912, it is unnecessary to repeat the novelty in 1913, as, once given, it remains a permanent fact, like the counties of Great Britain

and Ireland. A novelty for 1913 is the *Jours chômés*, or holidays at the French Mixed Court, which next year will probably be supplemented by a list of Bank Holidays (given on the last page in a postscript), Customs holidays, and international Court holidays. Then, of course, *Parlement chinois, élections, ministères*, became a new subject with the establishment of the Republic. Another charming little novelty is this: in 1912 English and French measuring scales were printed on the cover, but some wise Father has evidently reflected that a fine scale is of little use unless you can apply it closely to the object to be measured; in 1913, therefore, a detached measure, French on one side and English on the other, is supplied in deep black cardboard, with the fractions marked in white, so that one can keep the measure in a waistcoat pocket and apply it at any moment of the day. In Shanghai this is important when the French and English concessions lie alongside each other, and the Chinese are "educated" in the commercial ways of both countries. It is unnecessary for us to enter further into details, as we have already noticed this charming and useful little volume half a dozen times in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.—E. H. PARKER.

3. THE TRADE AND ADMINISTRATION OF CHINA. By Hosea Ballon Morse, sometime Commissioner of Customs and Statistical Secretary, China. (London: Longmans, Green and Co.)

In the July number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1908 we had the honour of noticing the first edition of this admirable work, the title, authorship, and price being now slightly changed. Then it was "Chinese Empire" instead of "China"—possibly a subtle allusion to the impending disappearance of Mongolia, Turkestan, and Tibet is intended; the "sometime" now added unfortunately means that the gifted author's services will no longer be available in China; the rise in price from 7s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. (let us hope) means that the public *will* have his words of wisdom, *coûte que coûte*. All the nice things we said of Mr. Morse's original edition of 1908 are, or may be taken as, repeated *in petto* of this one; it is quite a pleasure to review Mr. Morse, for he manifestly gives us the best he can, and is absolutely unbiassed and conscientious. This work is not quite of such high historical merit as his *magnum opus*, the "International Relations of the Chinese Empire," published by Longmans in 1910, but as a practical business work for traders and missionaries and officials alike, it will probably be the more widely popular of the two. The additions and alterations are not many; the first two chapters on history (originally by the Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott) have been judiciously pruned down and condensed into one. Three slight further emendations may here be made; Margary's murder was in 1875, not 1876 (p. 25); the Dowager's name is *Tse-hi*, not *Tse-si*; and *Sun*, not *Shén*, is the mandarin as well as the Cantonese form of Sun Yat-sen's family name (p. 31). In exchange for the condensation of the two history chapters, Mr. Morse gives us two chapters on Government instead of one; the original one now becomes that of Imperial China, followed by a more or less up-to-date "Government of Republican China." Changes have been proceeding so rapidly

that pp. 73 and 74 are already obsolete and require prompt recasting; it is necessary to read the Peking *Gazette* every day in order to keep pace with the new nomenclature. The chapter on Revenue contains a very important addition (p. 117) in the shape of an official Budget for 1911, which shows plainly how underestimated all previous foreign computations of revenue were; it may here be added that the revenue for 1913 is estimated by the Peking authorities at \$725,700,000, or, say, £75,000,000, against an expenditure of \$903,000,000; hence the urgent need of a big loan. The chapter on Currency remains practically unchanged; but the addendum "copper cash" derived from the Sanskrit *körsha* is not supported by any declared authority here, and the simple Portuguese *caixa*, so long accepted, seems less far-fetched. "Weights and Measures" remain unchanged; also "Extraterritoriality," except that King Edward I. has since been discovered to have invented for foreigners a "Mixed Court" in England 600 years ago (p. 177). The most numerous additions occur in the chapter on Treaty Ports, but they are all in the same sense; that is to say, whereas the figures in the first edition brought us up to 1905, we now have totals for 1911, mostly showing a vast general increase, in spite of political troubles. On page 244 it is stated that "Shanghai is mentioned in history 2,150 years ago." Of course most sites existing now existed 2,150 years ago in China as elsewhere, even if under different names; thus the *Shén-pao* newspaper of to-day means *Shanghai Reporter*, from the Hwangp'u River there, 2,150 years ago, known as the *Shén-Kiang* (= River).

More than a thousand years later, amongst the various local *p'u* or tidal "creeks," were the "Shanghai *p'u*" and the "Hia-hai *p'u*"—i.e., the "Upper Sea Creek" and the "Lower Sea Creek," one of which was probably the "Soochow Creek," so well known to Shanghai-ites of to-day, and the other the "Hwangp'u River," which two streams join at the British Consulate; but Kublai Khan in 1291 was the first to create the territorial name "Shanghai *hien*," which he did by carving the still-existing Hwa-t'ing *hien* into two parts. On p. 269 the population of Kwang Si is reduced from 9,000,000 (Mr. Alabaster's former guess) to 6,500,000, which is probably about right so far as Chinese alone go; but it must not be forgotten that a considerable part of Kwang Si is still "savage," under the rule of its native *t'u-ts* of Shan or Miao-tsz race. In the next two chapters on Foreign and Internal Trade, Mr. Morse has not considered it necessary again to add to 1905 the figures for 1911; but he brings the next, or Opium chapter up to date, and, moreover, gives us in Appendix F the prohibitory regulations of 1906. The chapters on the Customs Inspectorate and Post Office remain unchanged, except that Sir R. Hart's death in 1911 is recorded, and also the placing of the Post Office under the *Yu-ch'uan Pu* (already an obsolete name; now called *Kiao-t'ung Pu*) or "Communications Ministry." The illustrations are unchanged, but we are given a much better map of China—at the end this time, instead of facing the title-page. Mr. Morse's account of the trade and administration of China is one of the few books on the subject one can implicitly trust, and all persons who love accurate information should provide themselves with a copy.—E. H. PARKER.

4. RECENT EVENTS AND PRESENT POLICIES IN CHINA. By J. O. P. Bland. (London : *William Heinemann*.)

The value of Mr. Bland's discursive examination into the state of affairs in China up to about nine months ago may be somewhat discounted in certain minds by the fact that much, if not most, of the matter has already appeared in the *Times*, *Spectator*, *Nineteenth Century*, and the *National and Edinburgh Reviews*; the expansiveness and occasional looseness which are almost inevitable in papers hurriedly written for fugitive consumption might well have here been condensed and matured by the author so as to give us the essence of his pruned thoughts within a restricted compass; for in these exciting days few persons not specially interested in China are prepared to swallow, not to say digest, 500 pages of reflections and moral considerations not introducing new concrete historical facts, or leading up to any definite political object in view. In his last chapter, however, Mr. Bland brings things to something approaching a head, and sums up his advice in the following moderately nourishing, but very reasonable, words: "The interests of the Chinese masses and of British commerce alike will best be served by a policy of gradual rebuilding on the ancient foundations of China's social structure, making sincere efforts towards fiscal and financial reorganization precede tariff revision, large foreign loans, and other stop-gap expedients; making recognition of the Republic dependent upon the establishment of a central Government representative of the nation, to the extent that it shall command at least enough loyalty from the provinces to prevent overt breaches of treaty, to guarantee the ordinary revenues of the country, and to ensure continuity of policy. Much can be done, in co-operation towards these ends, by wise counsel given in mission schools and colleges under European teachers; by gentle firmness in the attitude of our diplomatic and consular agents; and, above all, by the intelligent direction of our political finance." No one can find much fault with so safe, if slightly commonplace, a programme, which is indeed pretty obvious without the need of 500 pages of reflections (often denunciatory) to justify it.

If we now turn to the specific chapters and try to gather what Mr. Bland's detailed views really are, we find that on the whole he thinks Yüan Shi-k'ai, in default of a better, the right man in the right place, though at the same time he would rather that place had never been created. Defective though the latter-day Manchu rule had been, more especially under the feeble regency of Prince Ch'un, Peking and the Court were still a sort of impersonal rallying-point around which, under the restraints of ceremonial tradition, conflicting interests could contend with the decency and deference bred of habit. Even Yüan himself saw this from the beginning, knowing well that there was not a single family or individual in China capable of impressing the population as a whole, or of reconciling, by sheer force of character, provincial passions, prejudices, and conflicting interests. Perhaps, therefore, Mr. Bland may still turn out to be right when he says of Young China: "I am compelled to the conviction that salvation from this quarter is impossible." At all events, he seems, and with good ground, to have little faith in the Canton clique, including, certainly, Sun Yat-sen and Wu

T'ing-fang, if not also Wén Tsung-yao and T'ang Shao-i, for the last-named of whom at least, however, he appears to have some warm feeling personally. He is evidently distrustful of German finance as well as of German diplomacy, and has no particular love for or admiration of the Japanese, whose forcefulness he recognizes fully. With Professor Reinsch—a "closet philosopher," who has recently published a philosophical book of the same abstract character as his own, only more so—he does not by any means see eye to eye: "Like many another scholar, he has thought more than he has learned about the Chinese people." He is undoubtedly right when he shows how "the qualities of will-power, loyalty, and sustained energy which enabled Japan to effect in forty years" all she has done are conspicuously wanting in China, which is entirely lacking in religious inspiration. "Above all, the essential virtue of personal integrity, the capacity to handle public funds with common honesty, makes it almost impossible that any reforms can effect any sensible change in the rottenness of the State." In Mr. Bland's opinion the British and American Governments failed at the beginning to give to Yüan Shi-k'ai "the support which he had every right to expect. . . ." Had Yüan received it "from the Powers which had persistently deplored his retirement and advised his recall, there can be but little doubt that the insurrection would have been suppressed as easily as similar outbreaks in the past." And so on throughout the whole successive phases of the revolution and after. Mr. Bland knew many of the chief actors, and gives us interesting sketches of their respective characters. He was often more or less behind the scenes; understood the views, interests, and wishes of the Shanghai trading community; and, generally, has been in positions giving him exceptional facilities for discovering the truth and representing it (as he believes it) articulately; but it is not always easy to criticize matters of abstract opinion as distinct from concrete presentment of fact. He is entitled to his opinions, and there is an end of it; readers must judge for themselves.

Amongst the mixed matters of opinion and fact discussed by Mr. Bland, there is one in which he seems to have developed and overlaboured a fad almost approaching to a mare's nest. He makes a great ado about the "inexorably tragic" evils of philoprogenitiveness, polygamy, concubinage, the "terrible, almost incredible proportions of infant mortality," procreative restlessness, and so on. Things cannot have been so very bad in China when under the 250 years of Manchu rule the population, on the whole a peaceful one, has steadily risen from 40,000,000 to 400,000,000 despite the great rebellions. The supposed vice of over-breeding is in reality a political virtue now unfortunately almost the exclusive possession of Holy Russia in the West, a departed virtue which France would give much to recall, the lack of which, again, threatens dark days for both America and Australia. It is precisely her enormous population that makes China practically invulnerable, unconquerable; for no conqueror, however ferocious, can massacre or transport elsewhere 400,000,000 people; and no disaster, whether plague, pestilence, famine, rebellion, or civil war, can make a very serious permanent hole in this total. Polygamy is not practised by more than 1 or 2 per cent. of the whole population, for

the simple reason that the vast majority of males are so poor that it is as much as they can do to buy and keep alive one humble mate. Female infanticide (largely practised only in two provinces out of twenty-one) does not seem to keep down the population of Fuh Kien and Kiang Si very much, if at all ; the streets of every town and village of China, north, south, east, and west, swarm in the summer-time with naked urchins ; concubinage is only practised by the rich, and is, in reality, what we call polygamy—which is, in fact, not allowed at all under Chinese law. There are one or two other points where Mr. Bland, after reading up some parts of Spencer, endeavours forcibly to bring Chinese phenomena within the limits of that philosopher's Procrustes' bed of evolution ; but the alliance sometimes seems forced and strained in Mr. Bland's hands, even if the author has really mastered his sociological subject. He appears at his best when he sticks to what he has seen with his own eyes in China, and his book will certainly suggest many valuable ideas to those who have commercial interests there ; as a statesman and a lecturer on moral philosophy, "he comes *next*" as the Chinese politely say. The illustrations in his book are as numerous as they are excellent. His comparison of the Young Turks with the Young Chinese is an interesting feature, and here Mr. Bland's opinions seem to be amply justified by first-hand experiences in Turkey as well as in China.—E. H. PARKER.

-
5. THE PAGAN TRIBES OF BORNEO. By C. Hose, D.Sc., and W. McDougall, M.B., F.R.S. With an Appendix on the Physical Characters of the Races by A. C. Haddon, F.R.S. Two vols. (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1912.)

This is another of the splendid series of scientific anthropological manuals now being issued by Messrs. Macmillan, and to say that it is one of the best of that series is to give it the highest praise.

Both of the authors are experts in their own departments, and both have enjoyed exceptional facilities for an exhaustive first-hand study of these primitive tribes of the Malayan Archipelago, who, from their isolated position, have preserved many curious prehistoric survivals of interest for comparative ethnology. Dr. Hose spent twenty-four years as civil officer in the service of the Raja of Sarawak, visiting also at intervals British and Dutch Borneo and parts of the adjoining Malayan Peninsula ; and his duties as a magistrate necessitated constant and intimate intercourse with the tribes of these regions, and long leisurely journeys into the far interior, often into regions not previously explored. Mr. McDougall was a member of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition of 1898 under the leadership of Dr. Haddon, and spent the greater part of that year in the country. During this visit he co-operated with Dr. Hose in collecting material for a joint-paper on the "Animal Cults of Sarawak," and this co-operation, having proved so profitable, suggested the present book, which embodies all that information and the further information collected by Dr. Hose during the additional years he spent in Borneo. This book, therefore,

thus begun in 1898, has been in progress ever since, though only put into shape during the last few years.

The result of this collaboration is an altogether exceptionally full and trustworthy scientific study of these primitive people in all their aspects. Their social system, daily life in the fields, river, jungle, in hunting and in war, their handicrafts and decorative art, their varied spiritual, animistic, and polydemonist ideas, and the practices arising therefrom, magical spells and charms, myths and legends, and their ethnic affinities, are all described in detail.

In an appendix of over thirty pages, Dr. Haddon presents an analysis of the measurements and the deductions emerging from these, with elaborate tables. It is found that in Borneo, as in other islands of the Malayan Archipelago, the Malays inhabit the coast and the aborigines the interior; though in some parts these latter reach the coast. On the other hand, Malayized tribes have pushed inland up the rivers, so that a sharp distinction between the two is frequently obliterated where they overlap. Further complications are introduced by the ascertained fact that there are at least two main races amongst the aborigines. The mongolic elements found in the relatively aboriginal types is suggestive with regard to the mongolic features present in the so-called aborigines of India.

The photographic collotype illustrations, over 200 in number with four in colour, are unusually excellent, and the line-drawings of implements and other objects which supplement these are useful and instructive.

Altogether the work is a mine of original observation on these interesting primitive tribes, and must remain of permanent value. It is a credit alike to the authors and publishers, and to the Cambridge Anthropological School.—L. A. WADDELL.

-
6. CAMP AND TRAMP IN AFRICAN WILDS. By E. Torday, Member of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Member of the Council of the Folk-Lore Society, etc. With forty-five illustrations and a map. (*Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd.* 1913.)

This book, a volume of 312 pages, is adequately described on the title-page as "A Record of Adventure, Impression, and Experiences during Many Years spent among the Savage Tribes round Lake Tanganyika and in Central Africa, with a Description of Native Life, Character, and Customs." The years referred to are from 1900 to 1907. This does not purport to be a serious scientific work, and is in fact a narrative of the author's daily life and adventures in the Congo, whither he had gone for anthropological research—apparently—for he does not make it clear what took him there, and though he speaks of his "appointment," he does not say what it was. The narrative is broken by descriptions of the manners and customs of the tribes with whom he came in contact, expressed in colloquial, not in scientific, language; in fact, we are told all about the country and its people, and the whole book makes an interesting story which we have read with much pleasure. The reader must not be put off by the first few pages, which read rather stiffly and unpromisingly: we think the author had difficulty in composing suitable sentences for opening with, just as we used

to when we were set to do essays in our schooldays ; when once he starts into his narrative, however, he is all right. He appears to have become widely popular among the natives, and a power in the land, and to his opinions and advice the greatest chiefs seem to have paid deference. He commends himself to us especially by his attitude towards the natives, which is sympathetic without being sentimental, and also by the pleasant way in which he confesses to having made occasional mistakes. The book is brightened by the numerous illustrations, all photographs. A translation of the dedication would be welcome (but perhaps it is not a dedication).—
J. M. P.

7. LETTERS FROM THE NEAR EAST. By the Hon. Maurice Baring.
(*Smith, Elder and Co., Ltd.* 1913.)

This modest little volume, which is mainly made up of letters to the *Morning Post* and the *Times* from Constantinople in 1907, and from the Balkans during the early part of the war, deserves a careful study. The most important part of the book consists of a careful and well-reasoned criticism of the aims and methods of the Young Turkey party, and though the author's sympathies are evidently not with the so-called reformers, full credit is given to the reforming party for the correction of the old abuses, while the unpractical nature of many of their lofty ideals and aspirations is clearly shown.

Mr. Baring lays stress on the inherent impossibility of grafting the modes of thought, the customs and institutions of the West, on to Oriental life. The Turks are absolutely incapable of assimilating Western methods and habits. As to the failure of constitutional government in Turkey, Mr. Baring cogently observes that it has not really been given a trial—only the forms were adopted—it had no root, and did not affect the administration. How radically opposed are Western methods to Muhammadan races is well shown in the attempted reform of military institutions, which has unmistakably spelt failure. The Young Turkey party seem to have ignored the Muhammadan faith, which alone inspires the Turkish soldier, and to have attempted to replace this so-called fanaticism with the inspiration of patriotism—which means nothing to the Turk, essentially a nomad.—
E. A. R. B.

8. JAINISM, IN WESTERN GARB, AS A SOLUTION TO LIFE'S GREAT PROBLEMS. Written by Herbert Warren, chiefly from notes of talks and lectures by Virchand R. Gandhi, B.A. (Madras : *Thompson and Co.* 1912.)

A little volume of 125 pages indicating, rather than describing, the principles of the Jain religion. The essential part of the book is Chapter V., which gives the rules that must be observed by one practising Jainism, and extends from p. 44 to p. 123, and concludes the book except for a couple of pages of recapitulation. For the rest, pp. 1 to 43 do not give more than such outlines of the Jain doctrines as are necessary to making Chapter V. intelligible, and comprise, after a general introduction, a brief description of the Jain theory of the universe, of man as he is, and of man

as he is potentially ; the tenets are simply set out as they are recognized by the Jains, and no attempt is made to cite their authorities or sources. The whole is written in language intelligible to the layman, and the book is evidently meant to do no more than serve to guide him in the practice of Jainism, and does not purport to be a manual of the Jain doctrine. After the preface the author prints some opinions which commend the work as a correct representation of the religion.—J. M. P.

9. THE LAWYER. By William Durran. (London : *Kegan Paul and Co.*)

This is a work which should be read by every patriotic Briton. It deserves the very widest publicity and the closest study. The author deals some staggering blows at the superstitions of the day about our legal system. We are serenely convinced that our laws are perfect. We live in an atmosphere of stuffy self-satisfaction. We thank God that we at any rate are a just race, and the administration of our laws is the finest in the world. Mr. Durran shows us very clearly that our legal system is the most unjust, costly, and technicality-encumbered affair it is possible to imagine.

He traces the causes of these troubles to what he refers to as the pernicious habit of selecting our Judges from the Bar. He shows with almost brutal force that the whole object of the advocate is to defeat the course of justice by means of trickery, by bamboozling juries and confusing witnesses, by getting hold of any trumpery technicality in order to prevent justice being done. He is not concerned with the justice of the case ; his object is to win. That is obviously his duty ; but, as Mr. Durran pertinently remarks, this man, after wallowing for years in a sea of misrepresentation and quibble, is suddenly called upon to assume the judicial calm and equitable spirit of the Judge, whose obvious function in the body politic is to administer justice and not law. He goes on to give many amusing examples of judicial idiocy, and he traces this to the warping of the moral outlook by years of advocacy. He shows us the absurdities of the law of libel, and with an unsparing hand makes most trenchant criticisms on our divorce laws. One example of the spirit of legation that dominates Bar and Bench is so good that I must perforce mention it. It is a gem of judicial inanity. Here are the actual words used by the "learned" Judge :

"This case ought to have been tried before a common jury, and I can't conceive why it was not. If it had been, I know what the jury would have said. They would have said so-and-so. They would have been *quite wrong*. But here I am, sitting in the place of a common jury, and I think, on the whole, I ought to find what I believe they would have found."

So he found it, although he knew it was quite wrong ! Sam Weller spoke the truth when he declared the "law was a hass," but now we know that the barrister-trained Judge is a bigger "hass." The spirit of legalism is shown by the author to be creeping into India, and as every Anglo-Indian is fully aware of the fact that our Indian Empire is sustained by the magistrate and not by the soldier, the troubles that await us there when justice becomes expensive and is sacrificed to technicality will be very serious indeed.

The jury system comes in for a good deal of chastisement by the

author, which we think is largely justifiable. Anyone who has resided in the West Indies or in West Africa soon realizes what a farce trials before negro juries are. In West Indian cases suits brought by American companies against negroes haven't a ghost of a chance, because the intense dislike of the West Indian negro to the lynching American prejudices juries at once.

The chaotic condition of our law, its contradictory interpretations, circumlocution, and unintelligibility, are well treated. Mr. Durran says the remedy is a code. Undoubtedly it is, but the opposition to a code would be desperate, for it would cut down litigation enormously. He concludes with some notes on the cynicism displayed by Judges. The books they write on their careers at the Bar are full of it. It may amuse some people, but it is a case for weeping in reality.

Mr. Durran has rendered the public an immense service. His book is certain to attract attention, and we heartily hope it will have a wide circulation. He gives ample evidence of his contentions in a copious appendix. There is a capital index. The printing is in fine bold type. The author's style is pithy, luminous, and full of meat. It is a welcome relief to the cloudy and redundant verbiage of the lawyer. It may lead to important reforms. But never shall we get any legal reforms while the party system is controlled by lawyers.

The plutocrat and the lawyer have produced an intolerable state of affairs in the country, and it will not be long before they will reap what they have sown. The country needs a fearless dictator to sweep away its innumerable abuses, legal and otherwise, and we are certain it will get one before long. Mr. Durran's book shows the necessity for one. It is indeed a most excellent work, which cannot be too highly praised.—H. O. W. M.

10. **FROM POLE TO POLE.** By Dr. Sven Hedin. (London: *Macmillan and Co., Ltd.* 1912.)

Sven Hedin was happily inspired when he projected this book "for young people." It is an entertaining and instructive blend of a boy's book of travel and adventure, and an advanced geographical reader. Indeed, though the title chosen is a felicitous one, it might equally have been called "The Romance of Exploration." A considerable portion of the book consists of pleasantly and simply written summaries of the author's own journeys in Asia. But, in order to give completeness, carefully edited descriptions are given of the travels of other great explorers, from Columbus and Pizarro down to Stanley, Livingstone, Burke, Sir John Franklin, Nansen, and Scott. The book is consequently of some educational value, and might with advantage be adopted as a school reader. Very useful and clearly drawn sketch-maps are interspersed throughout the book, but the absence of an index is a serious defect.—E. A. R. B.

11. **THROUGH SIBERIA.** By Richardson L. Wright and Bassett Digby. (New York: *McBride, Nast and Co.*)

There have been several descriptions published of late of Russia's white elephant, the Trans-Siberian railway, notably by Mr. Shoemaker and

Mr. Foster Fraser; but Messrs. Wright and Digby's experiences are more recent. Some interesting statistics are given of this great trans-continental railway. It was built at the rate of nearly a mile and a half a day for the whole mileage of 5,424 miles. The cost was enormous, only about £2,000,000 less than that of the Panama Canal; but this includes the double track, which is now nearly finished. The present schedule time for express trains from Moscow to Vladivostok is now just under nine days. It is a significant commentary on the prevalent official corruption in Russia that Tomsk, the capital of Western Siberia, was actually ignored by the railway. It seems that certain secret contributions were refused by the Tomsk city fathers to the engineers; consequently the trunk line is nearly fifty miles from this important city! There is an instructive chapter on the development of Dairen (formerly Dalny) by the Japanese, who have succeeded in making this once moribund port into a very progressive colonial city—excellent electric tram service, modern drainage system, electric light throughout, several daily newspapers, and automatic telephones at every street corner. Sentimental reasons, however, seem to have induced them to give up all idea of developing Port Arthur. They prefer to keep it, as we have the Lucknow Residency, as a memorial of their wonderful victories. Relics of the great siege meet the eye everywhere, while on 203 Metre Hill stands a magnificent memorial, a granite pedestal (crowned with a huge iron shell) marking the spot where thousands of Japanese soldiers are buried.—E. A. R. B.

12. RECHERCHES SUR LES SUPERSTITIONS EN CHINE. Part I., Vol. II., No. 3. "Variétés Sinologiques," No. 34. By Rev. Henri Doré, S.J. (Shanghai : *Catholic Mission Press*.)

The first and second numbers, forming Vol. V. of the First Part ("Pratiques Superstitieuses"), were reviewed in the April number for 1912 (pp. 425-426), but owing to the external board-cover not having been so marked, it was not then noticed that they formed together No. 32 of the well-known "Variétés Sinologiques." The inroads made by sickness and death have made the good Fathers of Sicawei rather short-handed of late in the publishing and editing department, but recently valuable new blood has been imported in the person of the Rev. Père de la Servière, who has already begun to make matters "hustle" in Shanghai. All the agreeable things we had to say of Père Doré's first two parts may be repeated of the third and fourth, "only more so." The seventy-eight brightly-coloured pictures, all skilfully taken from Chinese originals, quite make the eminently artistic book a fit ornament for the nursery, the boudoir, or even the drawing-room table, apart from its value as a genuine record of popular beliefs, fancies, and ancient superstitions. Chinese characters are liberally supplied for the use of those who can read them, but at the same time the French text is continuous, and all the romanized sounds of such characters are given, so that persons not conversant with Chinese can read comfortably on without breaking off the sense of the particular subject under discussion. This second volume treats specially of oracles, chances, luck, physiognomy,

drawing lots, omens, etc. The second division discusses the *dies fas et nefas* mysteries of the calendar; exorcisms, lucky and unlucky sites, "dowsing," oaths, vows, and popular prayers. Then come the festivals and holidays of the year; and, finally, a dissertation upon the supposed virtues and occult powers of different organic and inorganic substances. It need hardly be said that a scientific knowledge of this nonsense or pseudo-science—*rason de la sinrazon*, as Don Quixote has it—is highly important for the missionary, as also for the traveller or the prospector who finds himself thwarted or troubled by unexpected suspicions and prejudices. It may be worth while to mention that arrangements have now been made to place these valuable "Variétés" on the London market. The above two volumes (\$6.00, or 12s. a volume of two parts) are on sale at Messrs. Luzac and Co.'s establishment, and also at Messrs. Kegan, Paul and Co.'s. The Second Part ("Le Panthéon Chinois," being a list of "worshipped" personages, real or imaginary) will shortly appear, also in two volumes.—E. H. PARKER.

13. THE ARABS IN TRIPOLI. By Alan Ostler. (*John Murray*. 1912.)

Mr. Alan Ostler gives a picturesque account of his experiences as an unattached war correspondent with the Arab forces, during the first few months of the Italian campaign in Tripoli. The author is careful to disavow any claim to be an historian of this strange desert campaign—would that other writers had been equally modest. He has attempted merely to give a picture of an unfamiliar race with whom he lived on friendly terms for some five or six months. Mr. Ostler succeeds, however, in bringing home to the untravelled reader some illuminating and suggestive pictures of desert life. He has not, of course, the knowledge or experience of Doughty or Burton, but his powers of observation partly compensate.

The actual plan of campaign of the Turks and the Italians is rather ignored, and, with one exception, skirmishes and affairs of outposts make up the war-correspondent side of Mr. Ostler's narrative. But we get a good deal of information which shows how erroneous is the popular conception of Turkish officers. The new type of officer is brave but not reckless. He is a student of modern scientific methods of warfare, and in his appreciation of the necessity of military routine and stern discipline he should satisfy the exigent Kaiser himself.

Much stress is laid on the lack of the most elementary strategy and the primitive fighting instincts of the Arabs, which materially hindered the plans of the Turkish Generals. Frontal attacks were their only idea of warfare. Left to themselves, the campaign would have been a succession of petty raids, while the hope of booty was a far more powerful motive than patriotism or revenge. An amusing example is given of the ignorance of the Arabs as to values. Some looting Arabs sold Italian paper money to the value of 1,500 lire, taken from the pockets of dead Italians, for a few coppers to a Tunisian Arab, who from contact with the French was better instructed than his Tripolitan brothers.—E. A. REYNOLDS-BALL.

14. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INDIAN MUSIC. By E. Clements. 6s. net. (London : *Longmans, Green and Co.*)

In preparing this volume Mr. Clements has rendered a most valuable service to students of Indian music, a service which only those who know the difficulty of obtaining facts on the subject will be able fully to appreciate. Approaching Hindustani music from the standpoint of the faithful recorder rather than that of the artist or creator, he gives an exposition of its microtonal scales in a style which is simple though learned—a combination much to be desired in books dealing with the intricacies of intonation. For reason of its manner of exposition, especially, his book is to be commended to practical musicians, to whom learned treatises on pitch, unless leavened with sympathetic appreciation of its artistic possibilities, usually present no attraction. It should be remembered in reading this volume that it only reveals a small portion of the treasures of Indian music. Mr. Clements has confined himself to the study of scales and microtones (*srutis*) based upon the systems set forth in Bharata's *Nâtya Shastra* of about the fifth century, A.D., and the *Sangit Ratnâkâr* of the thirteenth century. The great Karnatic system he has ignored. Since this differs in some fundamental respects from the Hindustani—such as, for instance, in the playing of *srutis* in scales—and since it cannot be left out of a critical survey of the tonal material of Indian music without danger of one-sided conclusions, we must accept some of Mr. Clements' conclusions with reservation. The chief merit of his excellent work is that it gives for the first time a number of facts as to the tones in certain *râgas* in a manner practicable to the musical student. If that student refuses to accept any recorded facts about tone as invulnerable law, but practises microtonal art as his intuition suggests, he may arrive at the sources of Indian microtones without bothering his head about their modern use—or abuse. There is much in this book to help him on his way. But in spite of its use for mechanical purposes, the *sruti* harmonium which Mr. Clements recommends is a doubtful help. The prevailing disagreement about the number of *srutis* is a healthy one, for it is a danger to melodic art that they should ever be fixed. The man who is capable of hearing and performing the greatest number is the greatest musician. Why should he be limited to a keyboard?—M. M.

15. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT RELIGIONS. By E. Noel Reichardt, M.D. (London : *George Allen and Co., Ltd.*)

It is hardly possible to review this abstruse and wonderful book in the course of a few brief notes, but we hope in the near future to be able to examine the whole subject in a separate article. Meantime we commend a careful perusal of this thoughtful work to all those interested in the close relation existing between religion and the evolution and brain development of the human race. Like Milton, Dr. Reichardt takes upon himself the stupendous task of "justifying the ways of God to man," and proves conclusively that "the kingdom of God is within us." He shows that

man is not only a social and intellectual entity, but also, by the very structure of his brain, a religious being, and that God has made him so. The God-like power is not only produced by and through the human brain, but dwells and grows therein. The brain is, admittedly, the organ of the mind, and the mind acts in two ways. It behaves objectively (or intellectually) and it behaves subjectively (or intuitionally); and there are two different arrangements of the cells of the brain corresponding to these two different phases of consciousness. It is an anatomical fact that the grey matter of the brain is divided into two halves with a difference of arrangement and a difference of relationship. The upper part of this grey matter is much less intimately connected with the white matter than the lower part, and it is through the white matter of the brain that the mind of man establishes communication with the outside world. There are, it seems, still parts of the human brain quite cut off from all touch with this white matter, and consequently cut off from all consciousness of outside things—*i.e.*, objects—and during the oriental period of the development of man this cut-off state of the upper part of the human brain was much more marked and rendered intuition supreme. Step by step Dr. Reichardt shows that the whole historical and religious development of humanity has been the inevitable consequence of the psycho-physiological conditions postulated in his theory that the ancient religions arose out of a continuous progression of mental states resulting from the developments taking place in the upper part of the grey matter of the human brain. He then traces the “generic wave” through the various racial movements, and shows how it rose from the religious ideas of savages and passed through six great stages to the revelation of God in Jehovah and in Christ. Incidentally he deals with the significance of sex, and shows how we passed from the “matriarchal” to the “patriarchal” condition, and he insists that the new woman is a development from the virginal element of the male “germ plasm.” When the female was the sole developing creature she had a mind organ of her own, to which Dr. Reichardt gives the name “palaeogynic.” When the male became the sole developing creature he got a new mind organ, to which the Doctor gives the name “neo-andric,” and it is apparently from this “neo-andric” mind that the new woman arises by heredity. It would seem that the layers of a woman’s brain are not so tightly glued together as those of the male, and that the slates in the woman’s head can be more easily “loosened” or “lifted” than those in the man’s. “Mental dissociation” therefore occurs more frequently in the female than in the male, and hysteria is the form the affection takes most commonly in women. But though the layers of the female mind get loose, yet these loose layers retain their own inherent powers although they are no longer subject to control. The will-power connected with these loose layers is thus often tremendous, and the will of a woman with a loose layer is much greater and stronger than her will would be in her normal condition! “This exaggerated will-power makes her act in defiance of her reason and her perceptions, so that she loses all sense of proportion and of the true value of things in the external world. She thus reveals in all her behaviour the

predominance of a state of mind which is purely subjective. The complications arising from this condition often approach very closely to insanity." Can this theory account for the very strange conduct of the militant Suffragettes? and can nothing be done to cement more closely the layers of the brains of women?—J. P.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The India Office List for 1913. Compiled from official records by direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Price 10s. 6d. (London: Harrison and Sons, 45, Pall Mall.)—This admirably compiled list comprises the usual lists of officers serving in India. The names of the members of the new Legislative Councils are given as fully as possible, and in the case of the Governor-General's Council further particulars are added. There is also an index of subjects and appointments, and much useful information for those interested in Indian affairs.

Ancient Egyptian Legends, by M. A. MURRAY. 2s. net. (John Murray. 1913.)—This addition to the Wisdom of the East Series is distinctly more popular in character than most of its predecessors. Ancient Egyptian mythology is presented in a very attractive fashion, and the book is well adapted for use by the tourist, as a companion to the Standard guides of Egypt. The notes at the end of the volume might well be consulted by the serious student of Egyptian legends and folk-lore.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustan Review*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1913 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, March, April, and May, 1913 (published by the Society at Hastings Street, Calcutta);—*The Wealth of India*, a monthly magazine of information and instruction on agriculture, trade, industry, economics, etc., edited by G. A. Vaidyaraman, B.A. (Madras: G. A. Vaidyaraman and Co.);—*The Encyclopædia of Islam*: A dictionary of the geography, ethnography, and biography of the Muhammadan peoples, prepared by a number of leading Orientalists, edited by M. Th. Houtsma,

T. W. Arnold, R. Basset, and R. Hartmann, No. XVII., Djarr—Dwin (Leyden : late E. J. Brill, Ltd. ; London : Luzac and Co.) ;—*Hore Semiticæ*, No. X. : *The Commentaries of Isho'Dad, Bishop of Hadatha (c. 850 A.D.)*, edited and translated by Margaret D. Gibson, with an Introduction by James R. Harris, M.A., Vol. IV. (Cambridge : At the University Press) ;—*Archæological Survey of Ceylon*, Vol. II., Part I. : *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, being Lithic and other inscriptions of Ceylon, edited and translated by Don Martino de Silva Wickremasinghe, HON. M.A. (Oxon) (London : Published for the Government of Ceylon by Henry Frowde) ;—*The Jātaka ; or, Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, translated from the Pāli by various hands : Index volume (Cambridge : At the University Press) ;—*Universidad Central de España, Memoria del Curso de 1910 á 1911, y Anuario del de 1911 á 1912, de Su Distrito Universitario* due publica la Secretaría General (Madrid : Imprenta Colonial, Estrada Hermanos) ;—*Discurso Leido en la Solemne Inauguración del Curso Académico de 1912 á 1913*, por el Doctor D. Marcelo Rivas Mateos (Madrid : Imprenta Colonial, Estrada Hermanos) ;—*Viśvakarmā* : Examples of Indian architecture, sculpture, painting, handicraft, chosen by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. (London : Luzac and Co.) ;—*Report of the Director of Public Instruction on the Progress of Education in the Bombay Presidency during the Quinquennium from 1907-08 to 1911-12* (Bombay : Printed at the Government Central Press, 1912) ;—*Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending March 31, 1912*.

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices on the following works : *The Game of Central and Western China*, by Harold Frank Wallace, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. (London : John Murray) ;—*The Diamond Sutra (Chin-Kang-Ching) ; or, Prajna Paramita*, by William Gemmel (London : Kegan Paul) ; *Essays, Indian and Islamic*, by S. Khuda Buksh, M.A. (Probstain and Co.) ; *Art in Egypt*, by G. Maspero (William Heinemann) ;—*The System of the Vedanta*, by Paul Deussen, translated by Charles Johnston (Chicago : Open Court Publishing Co) ;—*The Little World of an Indian District Officer*, by R. Carstairs (Macmillan and Co.) ;—*An Account of My Life*, by the Begum of Bhopal (John Murray) ;—*The Renaissance in India*, by C. F. Andrews (Church Missionary Society) ;—*Theosophy and the Theosophical Society*, by Annie Besant ;—*The Four Noble Truths : The Bhikkhu Silācāra* ;—*Christ and Buddha, and other sketches*, by C. Jinarajadasa ;—*The Path of Service in the Vedas*, by A. Mahadeva Shastri ;—*The Relation of Guru and Shishya and Prapatti At-one-ment*, by V. K. Deshikachari ;—*General Report of the Thirty-Seventh Anniversary and Convention of the Theosophical Society held at Adyar, December 26 to 31, 1912* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India) ;—*Plays of Old Japan, The "Nō"*, by Marie C. Stopes, together with translations of the dramas by M. C. Stopes and Professor Joji Sakurai, with a Preface by His Excellency Baron Kato (London : William Heinemann) ;—*The Diwan of Zeb-un-Nissa*, the first fifty Ghazals rendered from

the Persian by Magan Lal and Jessie Duncan Westbrook, *Wisdom of the East Series* (London : John Murray);—*Hymns to the Goddess*, translated from the Sanskrit by Arthur and Ellen Avalon;—*Tantra of the Great Liberation (Mahānirvāna Tantra)*, a translation from the Sanskrit, with Introduction and Commentary by Arthur Avalon (London : Luzac and Co.);—*Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period*, by Albert T. Clay (New Haven : Yale University Press ; London : Henry Frowde);—*Christianity : The Sources of its Teaching and Symbolism*, by J. B. Hannay, F.R.S.E., F.I.C., F.C.S. (London : Francis Griffiths);—*The English Factories in India, 1642-1645*, a calendar of documents in the India Office, Westminster, by William Foster, C.I.E. (Oxford : At the Clarendon Press);—*Studies in Local Self-Government, Education, and Sanitation*, by A. P. Patro (Madras : G. A. Natesan);—*Vāsavadattā : A Sanskrit Romance*, by Subandhu, translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by Louis H. Gray, PH.D. (New York : Columbia University Press);—*The Dilettante, and other Poems*, by A. G. Shirreff, I.C.S. (Oxford : B. H. Blackwell ; London : Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Ltd. ; Bombay : Oxford University Press);—*Dew and Mildew*, by P. Christopher Wren (London : Longmans, Green and Co.);—*Malayan Monochromes*, by Sir Hugh Clifford (London : John Murray);—*A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, by A. J. B. Wavell (London : Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London : Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd.);—*Through Shen-Kan*, by R. S. Clark and A. de C. Sowerby (London : T. Fisher Unwin);—*Latin Self-Taught*, by John Topham (London : E. Marlborough and Co.);—*The Inner Life and the Tao-teh-King*, by C. H. A. Bjerregaard (New York : The Theosophical Publishing Co.).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

We note in the Memorandum of the Financial Secretary, which accompanies the Budget, apart from Burma, the prosperous condition of the provincial finances has again made it possible for the Local Governments to allot large sums in their Budgets for 1913-1914 for new roads, buildings, and other public improvements.

The Government of India has made a grant to the Punjab Government of Rs. 1,20,000 for agricultural purposes, which they recommend should be partially expended on the establishment of a cotton-growing farm, the subsidizing of sugar factories, and the boring of tube wells.

A Blue-Book (Cd. 6,714) issued on April 4 gives the revised regulations, etc., for giving effect to the Indian Councils Act, 1909. These regulations are introduced by a letter from the Government of the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India, submitting for presentation to Parliament copies of the revised regulations for the constitution of the Legislative Councils of the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and of the Lieutenant-Governors of the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma. The letter also explains the circumstances which gave rise to a revision of the Council Regulations sanctioned in 1909.

A Royal Commission, with Mr. Austen Chamberlain as chairman, and including Lord Faber, Lord Kilbracken, Sir R. Chalmers, and Mr. H. N. Gladstone, has been appointed

to investigate and report on certain administrative⁸ questions relating to Indian finance and currency, including the location and management of the general balances of the Government of India, the sale in London of Council bills and transfers, and the location, disposition, and employment of the gold standard and paper currency reserves.

The establishment of a College of Commerce in Bombay has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

The Bill amending the Indian Penal Code with regard to conspiracy has been passed by the Legislative Council.

His Highness the Nizam has laid the first stone of the great dam on the River Musi, a few miles south of Golconda.

On the occasion of His Majesty's birthday the following honours, among others, were conferred :

ORDER OF THE BATH.

K.C.B.

General Sir Donald James Sim McLeod, K.C.I.E., C.B., D.S.O., late Madras Cavalry General List, retired, Colonel of the 28th Light Cavalry.

Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Irvin Scallan, K.C.I.E., C.B., D.S.O., Aide-de-Camp General to the King, commanding Burma Division.

Surgeon-General Henry Hamilton, C.B., M.D., Indian Medical Service, retired.

C.B.

Colonel R. H. Twigg, Indian Army.

Colonel G. R. Crawford, Indian Army.

Brigadier-General A. B. C. Williams, Director of Supplies and Transport.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Crimmin, v.c., C.I.E., Indian Medical Service.

Colonel A. R. Dick, Inspecting Officer, Frontier Corps.

Brevet-Colonel J. G. Hunter, Indian Army.

Colonel Percy Holland, Indian Army.

ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

K.C.S.I.

Michael Francis O'Dwyer, Esq., c.s.i., Indian Civil Service,
Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Roos-KeppeL, K.C.I.E., Chief
Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General,
North-West Frontier Province.

C.S.I.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerard Godfrey Giffard, M.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.,
I.M.S., Superintendent, Government Maternity Hos-
pital, Madras.

Frederick William Johnston, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil
Service, Deputy Secretary, Finance Department of
the Government of India.

William Henry Lucas, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Com-
missioner in Sind, Bombay.

Vakhatsinghji Kesrisinghji, Thakor Saheb of Sayla, Third-
class Chief, Kathiawar.

Arthur Leslie Saunders, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Com-
missioner of Meerut, United Provinces, and an Addi-
tional Member of the Council of the Governor-General
for making Laws and Regulations.

ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

C.I.E.

Major George Kemp Walker, Indian Civil Veterinary
Department, Professor of Sanitary Science, Punjab
Veterinary College, Punjab.

Sardar Arur Singh, Sardar Bahadur, Honorary Magistrate
and Manager, Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, Punjab.

Lieutenant-Colonel Victor North Hickley, v.d., Honorary
Aide-de-Camp to the Lieutenant-Governor, Behar and
Orissa, Commandant, Behar Light Horse, Manager
of the Indigo Factory, Muzaffarpore, Behar, and Orissa.

- Rai Bahadur Sheo Shankar Sahay, Pleader and Manager of the Banaili Estate in the Bhagalpore District, and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar and Orissa for making Laws and Regulations.
- Joseph Henry Stone, Esq., M.A., Special Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Madras.
- Major George Standish Gage Craufurd, D.S.O., Intelligence Officer, Persian Gulf.
- Major Henry Beauchamp St. John, Assistant Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Government of India.
- Sardar Appaji Rao Shitole Ankkar, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Gwalior State Troops, Chief Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior and Member of the State Council of Gwalior.
- Alexander Phillips Muddiman, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Deputy Secretary in the Legislative Department of the Government of India.
- Henry Fraser Howard, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Collector of Customs, Calcutta, Bengal.
- Lawrence Mercer, Esq., President of the Forest Research Institute and College, Dehra Dun, United Provinces.
- Captain William Lachlan Campbell, Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province.
- William Charles Michael Dundas, Esq., Superintendent of Police, Assam.
- Bhupendra Nath Mitra, Esq., M.A., Assistant Secretary in the Finance Department of the Government of India.
- John Henry Lace, Esq., F.L.S., Chief Conservator of Forests, Burma.
- Patrick Robert Cadell, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay.
- Charles Cunningham Watson, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Secretary, Political Department, Bombay.
- Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Financial and Municipal Departments, and an Additional Member of

the Council of the Governor of Bengal for making Laws and Regulations.

Babu Abanindra Nath Tagore, Officiating Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta, Bengal.

William Henry Heton Arden-Wood, Esq., Principal of the La Martinière College, Calcutta, Bengal.

James Rae Pearson, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Collector of Meerut, United Provinces.

Major Robert James Blackham, Royal Army Medical Corps, Commanding the Station Hospital, Jutogh.

William Caldwell Ashmore, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Finance Department.

Lieutenant J. J. Astor, 1st Life Guards, has been appointed Aide-de-Camp to the Viceroy of India.

Sir William Stevenson Meyer, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Madras, has been appointed to succeed Sir Fleetwood Wilson as an ordinary member of the Council of the Governor-General of India.

Sir Chinubhai Madhowlal Runchorelal, K.C.I.E., of Singapore, has been created a Baronet of the United Kingdom.

Also Sir George Sydenham Clarke, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., late Governor of the Presidency of Bombay.

Sir Harold Arthur Stuart, K.C.V.O., C.S.I., has been appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, in succession to Sir Murray Ham-mick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Mr. Francis Du Pre Oldfield, I.C.S., has been appointed a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Madras, in succession to Sir Ralph Benson, I.C.S.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—Mian Jogindra Singh has been selected as successor to the chiefship of the Mandi State. He is the nearest male relative of Raja Bhawani Sen, the deceased ruler, who died without an heir and without having made an adoption.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—A punitive expedition was sent to the Naga Hills to punish the villagers for a head-hunting

raid, and came in contact with the Nagas in their villages, many of whom were killed and wounded. The column moved along the Shinsiong River to the Anyeang River below Chingpoi. The village of Chongyi was captured and destroyed. The village of Longmieng was not punished, the political officer visiting this place with sixty rifles. All the villages which were to be punished were dealt with, and the force has returned.

The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the issue of a gratuity to officers, non-commissioned officers, and men employed in the Abor Expedition. The gratuity will be issued at the rate of 24 rupees per share for British, and 12 rupees for Indian soldiers, according to the rank of the recipient, and will be admissible to the heirs of those killed in action or who died of disease during the operations.

A body of Chinese troops attacked the police attached to the party surveying the Burmese frontier. Hill-men joined the Chinese. The assailants were beaten off. The British casualties were few, but included Mr. Bernard of the Civil Service, who was wounded.

CEYLON.—In a review of the administration of Ceylon, from 1907 to 1913, addressed to the Legislative Council, Sir Henry McCallum, the Governor, gives, at the close of his official life, some interesting notes as to the possible realization within the current year of a scheme for establishing railway communication between the mainland of India and Ceylon. Such good progress has been made in the construction of the Mannar Railway, which was begun in 1909, running north-west from Madawachchi, that it is hoped the line to Talaimannar, together with the construction of the piers, will be completed by the end of next November. When the Indo-Ceylon Railway connection is completed, its effects on the prosperity of the colony will without doubt be far-reaching.

PERSIA.—The insecurity of life and property of British subjects in Southern Persia has been the subject of much

debate in the English Houses of Parliament. It has been pointed out that, for some considerable time, our Consuls have been attacked and our officers murdered. British and Indian merchants have been robbed and ruined, and no redress has been given, and not a penny been paid in compensation. Telegraph lines have been tampered with, and the line of communication from England to India has been interrupted. During the past quarter further raids have taken place on the road from Shiraz to Ispahan.

It is reported that the Government troops have subdued the Boer Ahmadi rebels, who were responsible for the Eckford incident, and have destroyed their strongholds.

The detachment of the Central India Horse, which has been stationed at Shiraz, and sixty Rajpoots left for India on April 6.

A Russian Vice-Consulate is to be established at Kazvin.

The Persian Government has sent an expedition, composed mainly of Bakhtiari, against Salar-ed-Dowleh, who has again assumed an active rôle as a rebel.

THE PERSIAN GULF.—Some months ago a well-known gang of Tangistani gun-runners committed an act of piracy upon a Dubai pearl-boat, murdering its eight occupants and stealing the pearls. This attack was a retaliation for the seizure of a cargo of arms by the Sheikh of Dubai, which was effected in co-operation with the British authorities. His Majesty's ships, after issuing a warning, have been engaged in seizing dhows belonging to the strip of coast concerned. In this they have lost one seaman killed and two severely and three slightly wounded.

CHINA.—The Republic of China was on May 2 duly recognized by the United States and Mexico.

The House of Representatives assembled on May 1 at Peking, and Tang Hua-lung, a supporter of the Government, was elected Chairman.

Yuan Shih-Kai has issued a manifesto to Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and his followers, warning the revolutionaries of the

South that he intends strictly to enforce law, and has instructed the provincial authorities to arrest bad characters promoting civil war.

MANCHURIA.—Four new Chinese divisions are to be formed in Manchuria—two at Mukden and two at Tsitsihar and Kirin. The total strength of the Manchurian army will thus be eight divisions.

AFRICA.—A Commission has been appointed to study the nature and the relative frequency of the fevers occurring amongst the Europeans, natives, and others in West Africa, especially with regard to yellow fever and its minor manifestations. The Commission consists of the following: Sir James Kingston Fowler, K.C.V.O., M.D., D.Sc., F.R.C.P. (Chairman); Major Sir Ronald Ross, K.C.B., F.R.S., M.D., F.R.C.S., D.P.H., I.M.S. (retired); Colonel Sir William Leisham, F.R.S., M.B., K.H.P., R.A.M.C.; Professor W. J. R. Simpson, C.M.G., M.D., F.R.C.P., D.P.H.; with Mr. A. Fiddian, of the Colonial Office, as Secretary.

NYASALAND.—Mr. George Smith, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary of Mauritius, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Nyasaland Protectorate in succession to Sir William Manning, appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica.

HONDURAS.—Mr. Wilfred Collet, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary of British Honduras, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of that colony in succession to Colonel Sir Eric Swayne, K.C.M.G., who has retired.

AUSTRALIA: NEW SOUTH WALES.—Mr. McGowen has resigned the Premiership, and Mr. Holman, the Attorney-General, has accepted the Governor's commission to form a Government.

CANADA.—The Hon. W. T. White, Canadian Minister of Finance, introduced the Budget in the House of Commons on May 12. He announced few tariff changes beyond those necessitated by the new trade arrangement with British West Indies. The financial statement showed that the Dominion was enjoying unexampled prosperity. The

total revenue for the last fiscal year was £33,600,500, an increase of £6,400,000 over that of the previous year, and a surplus over ordinary expenditure of £11,000,000.

OBITUARY.

THE following deaths have been recorded during the past quarter:

Major-General J. W. Green (Candahar 1878-80);—Major-General Nowell Swanston, of the Indian Army (China war 1860);—Colonel G. Carleton, late Royal (Madras) Artillery (Russian war 1855);—Colonel J. C. Robertson, Glasgow (Afghan war 1880);—Colonel Arthur McLeod Mills, late 37th Dogras, Indian Army (Hazara expedition 1891, Chitral 1895);—Captain E. Carter (Crimea, relief of Lucknow);—Captain R. Steuart, late Indian Army;—M. A. Macauliffe, I.C.S. (retired);—Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, China, Red River expedition 1870, Ashantee war 1873-74, Egyptian and Nile campaigns 1882-85);—General Sir William Gordon Cameron, G.C.B., V.D. (Crimea, Abyssinia);—Major-General Boyle Torriano Stafford (Looshai expedition 1871-72, Jowaki expedition 1877, Afghan war 1879-80);—Colonel W. C. C. Master (Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. King, of the Indian Army (Burmese expedition 1886-89, Waziristan expedition 1894-95, Tochi operations on the North-West Frontier of India 1897-98);—Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. Maunsell, late of India;—Brigade-Surgeon C. F. Oldham, late Indian Medical Service;—Colonel M. M. Carpendale, late 2nd Sind Horse (Afghan war 1879-80);—Colonel Gerard S. Burton (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1887-89);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. Twynam (Afghan war 1879-80, Chitral 1895, North-West Frontier of India 1897-98, South Africa 1899-1902);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. Wintle (Bhootan expedition 1865, Afghan war 1878-79);—Major-General Alexander Gregor Forsyth, Bengal Staff Corps (retired) (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Indian Mutiny 1857-59);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. G. Maidment, late Indian Medical Service (Burmese expedition 1887-89, China expedition 1900);—Major J. J. C. Watson, late Royal Army Medical Corps (North China Field Force 1900);—Sir Edward T. Candy, C.S.I., formerly Judge of the Bombay High Court;—Sir Apcar Alexander Apcar, nominated member of the Indian Governor-General's Legislative Council;—Henry Campbell Norman, of the Indian Educational Service;—William A. Nedham, late of the Central Provinces Commission, India;—Sir James Austin Bourdillon, late of the Indian Civil Service;—Colonel P. H. F. Harris, late of the Indian Army (China war 1858-60, Afghan war 1878-80, Burmese expedition 1885-86);—General Sir Edward P. Leach (Looshai expedition 1871-72, Afghan war 1879-80, Soudan campaign 1885);—Major-General Arthur Thomas Moore, C.B., V.C., late Bombay Cavalry and Indian Staff Corps (Persian campaign 1856-57, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel A. C. Daniell,

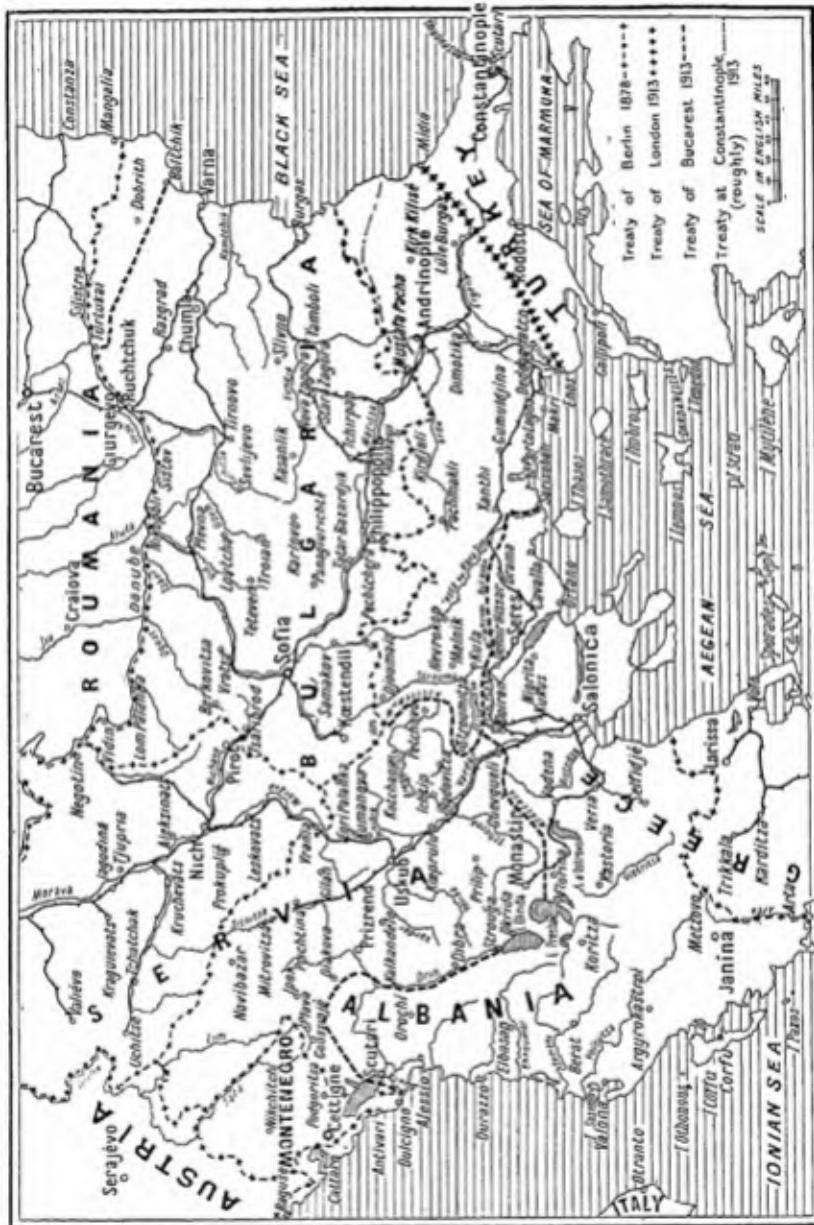
Royal Artillery (Afghan war 1880);—Sir Edward Arthur Horn-Elphinstone-Dalrymple, Bart.;—Colonel Edward H. Langmore, C.B. (Punjab and Indian Mutiny);—Captain J. A. Doig (North-West Frontier operations 1897-98);—Frederick Henvey, late Indian Civil Service;—Colonel Edward W. Fleming (Afghan war 1878-79);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. Mackenzie, late Indian Medical Service (Afghan war 1878-80, Mahsud Waziri expedition 1891, Waziristan expedition 1894);—Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Craig, Royal Army Medical Corps (Burmese expedition 1886-88);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. Patch, Indian Medical Service;—Major John Gibsone (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—William James Shone, late Royal Navy (Crimean war, China war, Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Sir John William Tyler, C.I.E., late Inspector-General of Prisons, North-West Provinces and Oude, India;—Raja Sir Kirti Sah, K.C.S.I., ruler of the State of Tehri Garhwal;—Captain W. O. Boothby, Royal Navy;—Sir Robert Kennaway Douglas, the Orientalist;—Major-General L. R. H. D. Campbell, C.B., Indian Army (retired) (Hazara campaign 1868, Dom Valley expedition 1872, Afghan war 1878-79, Kundil Pass and Gaghao, Mahsud Waziristan expedition 1881, China war 1900);—Colonel C. E. Naylor (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel N. S. Ogilvie (Afghan war 1880);—Charles Hamilton Ferguson, late Major 1st Seaforth Highlanders (Afghan war 1879, Egyptian expedition 1882);—K. B. Wagle, Accountant-General, United Provinces;—Raj of Bajghi;—Colonel D. H. Robertson (Bhootan expedition 1865-66, Soudan expedition 1885);—Major Walter Blake-Burke (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Major W. H. P. G. Bluett (Indian Mutiny);—General J. F. Fischer, Royal Engineers;—Deputy-Surgeon-General John L. Thomas, Royal Navy (Port Arthur 1894);—Colonel George Silvester Davies (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Major A. S. Gilbert (New Zealand campaign);—Captain Samuel Cole, Royal Engineers (Crimea);—Harold F. Matthews, a retired Indian Judge.

June 20, 1913.



MAP OF THE BALKAN STATES

By courtesy of "Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales."



THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1913.

SOME CAUSES OF TURKEY'S DEFEAT.

BY MAHDALI.

AT a time when so much is being written about the recent Balkan War and the causes of Turkey's defeat, it may perhaps not be out of place to call attention to several aspects of the case which have not, so far, received the attention they deserve.

While there is no doubt a great deal of truth in the attacks that have been made on the régime of the Young Turks and the administration that preceded them, it is only reasonable to suppose that the cancer lies deeper still. The application of the word "sick" as aptly describing the state of the body politics of Turkey has been in general use for nearly a century. It is my intention in this article to trace back the origin of this malady, in the hope that it will throw a stronger light on the inherent causes of these defeats than could be effected by an examination, however thorough, of more recent events.

There has, as a matter of fact, been a trend in Turkish affairs, working for over three centuries, which runs like a red thread of doom through her history. I refer to the religious toleration which has been prevalent in Turkey for the whole of that time. Although one would be naturally led to expect that this principle would be a source of strength to the Sultan, in reality the effect has been in exactly the opposite direction. This is the irony of history.

At the time that the Turks captured Constantinople, it would have been comparatively easy for them to make the inhabitants of Macedonia entirely Muhammadans. Certainly Europe could not have interfered at that time, owing to internecine quarrels.

However, the then Shaikh-ul-Islam protested and gave a *fetvá* that such conversion would be unlawful.

It had the effect of weakening the Ottoman Government, and in two ways. In the first place it gave Europe her opportunity. She could always find a very good pretext for interfering in order to relieve the Christians in Turkey from Moslem overlordship. That religious toleration existed there was not generally known. It was as firmly believed then, as it is in some quarters now, that the Christian subjects of Turkey had to fight against conversion to Muhammadanism. If that exaggeration had only been exposed, hundreds of thousands of lives would have been spared. Secondly, the differences between the Christian and the Muhammadan religion, especially in reference to trade and commerce, was a disadvantage to the Turks : for whereas they themselves experienced no great addition of wealth, they found the Christians becoming rich in their midst, without even having the hardships of military service. Moreover, the Turks were not only left behind in the race for wealth, in which they could not even be competitors, they also found their own men reduced in numbers owing to constant wars with Russia, while the Christians increased steadily in population. Thus it is easy to see that the establishment of religious toleration was for the Turks a source neither of material advantage nor of peace with her neighbours. In short, the position of the Turks under these conditions was untenable from the very start, and one which no amount of reforms could in any way ameliorate, for the simple reason that they would never reach the root of the trouble. And it is for this reason only that the Turks have always been regarded as only "encamped on the soil of Europe."

This state of weakness had, towards the middle of last century, become so aggravated that European Powers for the first time found it necessary to bolster up the "Sick Man," and the Crimean War broke out.

When we come to consider the question of whether it was Abdul-Hamid or the Young Turks who hurried on the latest disaster, we are presented with the problem not so much of whose fault it was, as whether it is possible to exonerate either régime. We will not, however, enter into this controversy, but content ourselves with enumerating the facts.

Abdul-Hamid's policy was frankly anti-democratic. After the disastrous war of 1877, he dissolved Midhad Pasha's Parliament and took the government into his own hands. He considered that the Turkish people were not fit to be governed in that way.

It is interesting to note in this connection that twenty years ago the Sultan in conversation with an Egyptian Princess told her that should he grant a Constitution, the people would fly at each other's throats, and such disorder would result that the Empire would go to pieces—a prophecy which has not been entirely contradicted by subsequent events. He was also particularly jealous of the stability of his own power. He gave no encouragement to the development of the navy, because he had witnessed it play such an important rôle in the deposition of Abdul-Aziz. Again, he never trusted the Khedives, whom he suspected of designs on the Khalifat. He was never really averse to the occupation of Egypt by England. It is not generally known that on that occasion he did not insist on the despatch of Turkish troops to Egypt. It was thus with the connivance of the Sultan that the road was opened for England. On the whole, it may be said that whereas his rule could scarcely be described as liberal or progressive, Abdul-Hamid did succeed in enforcing his will in the State, and preserving, as far as was humanly possible, the integrity of his dominions. However, as the

conditions in Macedonia were getting worse, Europe imposed on her a control over these districts, which had the immediate consequence of the rebellion of the army and the deposition of Abdul-Hamid.

The advent of the Young Turks to power was marked by their immediately splitting into two camps. One of these parties produced the counter-revolution which finally did away with Abdul-Hamid altogether. The Committee of Union and Progress remained absolute masters of the situation. Their most influential members had spent most of their lives in Paris, and seemed to be thoroughly imbued with the French Revolutionary spirit. They embarked on an anti-religious policy, and did their best to weaken the Khalif's authority. In this way they could not fail to arouse the opposition of the majority of Musulmen in Turkey.

This was exemplified in many ways. On a certain occasion they chose a Jewish deputy to be the spokesman of their deputation to announce to Abdul-Hamid the decision of the *fetva emini* that he would be dethroned. Even him they could not persuade to fulfil such a mission. "When you are deposing not only the Sultan of Turkey but also the Khalif of the Moslems you must get a Muhammadan to tell him so." They finally persuaded an Albanian General to fulfil the mission instead. Moreover, as the Young Turk leaders were freemasons, they introduced Freemasonry into the army, and officers who did not belong to the Committee or were openly hostile to Freemasonry were promptly pensioned off. Now Freemasonry as practised in Turkey is totally different to what is understood by the term in England. There it is a body which occupies itself almost exclusively with politics. The deliberation of the leaders always took place in one of the lodges, especially at Salonica, and their will was imposed on the Government at Constantinople, with the result that there was a government within a government.

Accordingly, there arose strong opposition to this form of

procedure, and within four years no less than 7,000 officers of the army were put on the retired list. The system of reforms adopted for the army was not suited to the requirements of the country, yet something like £15,000,000 were spent on it. The improvement of the navy was equally useless. A few old battleships were bought which afterwards proved to be of very little fighting value. But even these blunders may be said to compare favourably with the mistakes made in foreign policy. After the revolution there was a tremendous outburst of sympathy for England, and German influence seemed to be severely shaken. However, after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, the German influence again became paramount. Instead of improving on the Hamidian régime, whereby ministers were appointed at the Sultan's whim, the same abuse was continued. Officials whose only merit lay in their promise to obey the Committee's orders were safe to keep their posts. A minister who gained fame by the loss of the archives of his legation was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, and thanks to his diplomatic tact and foresight, the Balkan Alliance was formed against Turkey. Greece desired an understanding with Turkey at the time, on the basis of Crete being ceded to her in return for a yearly tribute ; but Turkey, unfortunately for her, refused to entertain the idea.

Servia went further : she wished to have an alliance with Turkey. Again Turkey declined. Then the four Balkan States, under the auspices of Russia, allied themselves against the Turks. Doubtless, had Turkey concluded an alliance with Servia, or if she had had an understanding with Greece, no Balkan War would have broken out. In the meantime, instead of appeasing the Albanian rebels by granting their legitimate demands, force was used against them, and unnecessary bloodshed followed.

Enormous sums were spent to keep an army of 150,000 men in Albania and Macedonia, and yet no progress was made. A change of ministry, which put a venerable Field-

Marshal in power, tried to make radical reforms by granting the demands of the various nationalities in the Empire. But it was too late. The Balkan Alliance had already been formed, and was swift to take advantage of the fact that Turkey, acting on the belief that Europe would not allow a war in the Balkans, disbanded an army of 120,000 men. Montenegro declared war on Turkey; her allies waited to see what Europe would say. The Powers, however, as we have seen, did not stop the war; they contented themselves with declaring that whatever the result of the war no changes in the frontier lines would be sanctioned. The Turks were utterly unprepared, and owing to the Committee the army was divided into two factions—the one being the Committee officers, who were freemasons, the others belonging to no party. The Turkish Army on October 8 consisted of 70,000 men in Thrace and on the Bulgarian frontier, and another 60,000 men facing Greece, Servia, and Montenegro, making a sum-total of 130,000.* Great difficulties were experienced in calling out the reserves in Macedonia. They were not at all anxious to join the colours, having already served in Albania; whilst it was impossible to bring into play the two army corps which were concentrated near Smyrna owing to the state of war prevailing with Italy. The army corps at Adrianople had been removed to the Yemen a couple of years previously and the soldiers of Adrianople had not the training that was required.

Although the mobilization on the Asiatic coast took place very rapidly owing to the extreme urgency of the case, reserves and regulars were put together, and that is why the army suffered its first defeat at Kirk Kilisse. The soldiers had no enthusiasm for fighting, for ever since the Constitution they were told that they must fight for the fatherland, whereas the Turks always fought for the Khalif. An amusing story is told by an officer who was

* According to the latest information, there are now 300,000 Turkish troops massed on the Thracian, and 150,000 on the Russian, frontier. This furnishes additional proof of the new spirit that has arisen in Turkey.

reprimanding a soldier for not fighting. He said: "Go ahead, fight for your country!" The soldier replied: "My country is Koniah; they won't cross the sea; it is quite all right." But the army was led by young officers totally inexperienced, and suspected by their men of being freemasons, which to the Turkish Tommy is another word for atheist; naturally they could impart no enthusiasm in the soldiery.

Another handicap was the ignorance of the commanders, especially in their military geography. The General who was in command at Kirk Kilisse had never been there in his life, and already six days after his arrival the Bulgarians began the war.

It will be seen from the above that if there are many causes for Turkey's defeats which are traceable to more recent events, these are only on the surface. The root-evil has always been the position of self-imposed disadvantage, as towards their Christian subjects, which they took up three centuries ago, and which they have never repudiated. Now is the time for the Turks to recognize that great error and put themselves on an absolute equality with the non-Moslem peoples. If they hesitate again, they will only harbour fresh difficulties. They must form a body politic of which each member has equal rights, privileges, and duties, and where particularism disappears.

One more word of advice. It is to the distinct advantage of Turkey to enter upon an era of peace. This can be most effectually insured by an understanding with the Bulgarians, the only Balkan people who still have a *common frontier* with them. With a friendly neighbour on their only European land boundary, they will at least put an end to that current of European intrigue which has for centuries swept into Turkey and sapped her strength. If the Turks adopt these two measures they will suddenly find themselves stronger than they were ever before, and instead of being, as in the past, an unwieldy and medieval country, gradually develop into an efficient and modern Balkan State. That must be the future rôle of Turkey in Europe.

THE FUTURE OF THE TURKS IN ASIA MINOR.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY, C.V.O.

THIS question must be viewed from two different points of view—namely, from a political and from an ethical one. As to the former it is evident that the future of smaller and culturally less developed nations chiefly depends on the intentions and plans of their more powerful and culturally more advanced neighbours. If the great Powers of Europe have made up their mind to put an end to the rule of the Turk in Asia Minor, and if they can come to an agreement with regard to the division of the spoil, then all the efforts of the Turk to bring on a revival will be utterly useless. But as experience has taught us, this is by no means an easy matter, for centuries passed away before the antagonistic interests of our great Powers enabled our diplomacy to come to terms in the Near East, and ultimately it was the former subjects of the Porte who pulled down their quondam master and oppressor. In Asia Minor this case will hardly repeat itself, as we shall later on prove in detail. As matters stand to-day, fortunately this event of history will not occur. Europe is decidedly sick of war, and will apply all possible means to avoid international conflicts—nay, the intention prevails to offer to the Turks all available facilities for cultural progress and for the strengthening of the Ottoman rule amongst the Muhammadan subjects of the Sultan in the East.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

It is, of course, no secret that many of our great Powers have cast an eye upon one or other portion of Asia Minor, and they secretly foster the hope of realizing their plans. France looks upon Syria as being her old ground of influence, and she will certainly not allow any interference by a newcomer in that region. Russia pretends to have a right upon Armenia and the country of the Upper Euphrates; whereas Germany is believed to be the future owner of Anatolia—namely, along the line of her railway from the Bosphorus to Bagdad. It is only England who is said to have had enough of new territorial conquests, and who does not aspire to add to her possessions. It is difficult to say how far these assumptions correspond to facts, but it is beyond doubt that the realization of the respective plans will entail serious complications, and none of the said Powers will go in light-heartedly to apply military force and so disturb the peace of Europe.

Such being the case, it can be easily assumed that the Turk will have full leisure to advance on the path of reforms, and that he will do this with encouragement and assistance. It remains, consequently, only the question of goodwill and efficiency which we have to examine. As far as I know the spirit of the ruling class in Constantinople from more than sixty years of practical and theoretical study, I can assure my English reader that the modern Osmanli, far from being adverse to Western culture, is most anxious for as rapid as possible a progress in the way of modern civilization, and that he is fully convinced of the unavoidable necessity of this as the only means of his further existence as a nation. Besides the goodwill, he has proved hitherto also his full aptitude; for if I compare his social, political, and cultural condition of sixty years ago with his present situation, I would be intentionally blind if I did not see many, many proofs of progress and of serious readiness to adopt the culture of the West. Of course, we in Europe

generally forget that Asiatics labour under the difficulty of the period of transition, and that they cannot accomplish in a few decades those changes which took us centuries, in spite of the advantages offered by our leaning to the Greek and Roman culture, not to speak of our more favourable climate and better-suited ethnical conditions. There is, besides, a fundamental mistake in our critical views relating to the reform of the East. We are decidedly too impatient, too much in a hurry, and the man in the East is too slow, too dilatory, in his movements; but in big questions like that before us we should be led by moderation and discernment, and take it as a piece of good luck that we can see in the Turk a chance to ward off a serious conflagration in Europe and Asia. The Turk constitutes the only national element in the Near East thoroughly capable of ruling and leading hordes. He played this part from immemorial times in various countries of Asia, and if sincerely supported, he is sure to answer to this rôle also under the present circumstances, provided, as I say, the ground be not undermined by secret machinations and rivalries of the different Powers, a circumstance which has frustrated more than one cultural effort in the past, causing failures which cannot properly be laid at the door of the Turk.

SUPERINTENDING REFORMS.

In dealing justly with the difficult problem of reform in Asia Minor, and of the reorganization of the Turkish administration, we, too, will have to alter our former course in this question, and adopt one of greater vigilance over the policy undertaken by Turkey. Formerly we were satisfied by all kinds of sham reforms and delusive steps. Now the time of deception has passed, the work of reforms must be superintended, nay led, by Europeans, and not, as was formerly the case, by Greek and Armenian Christians, who became willing instruments in the hands of the retrograde officers of the Porte, and were the main support of

laziness and of the most shocking abuses. No progress was possible with the assistance of these Levantines, who were lacking the necessary character, knowledge, and perseverance far more than the Turkish Governors and other provincial civil officers. Here a radical change must take place. Europeans by birth, education, and character, must be entrusted with the main task of reforms, and they should not be subject to the intrigues and whims of their native superiors. The apprehension that the leading statesmen of Turkey will not submit to such a restriction is out of the question, for they are themselves convinced of the usefulness of this measure, and they are themselves asking the assistance of Europe. The great question is always, Which of the European nations ought to be chosen for this service? And although national rivalry might aggravate the question, most people will agree that the English civil officer, drilled in India or in Egypt, will best answer the purpose, and he alone can act to the satisfaction of Turkey and Europe. First of all, his experience in dealing with Asiatics will enable him to deal successfully with Turks, Kurds, Arabs, and Christian Orientals. His next qualification lies in his English nationality, for as such he enjoys a particular favour and respect in the eyes of Orientals in general and particularly of the Turks. That something of gravity and earnestness in the behaviour of the genuine Englishman is very much liked and admired by the Turk, who finds fickleness and levity of manners most distasteful, and I dare say it is mainly this feature of the English character which has won the sympathy of the Turks, Persians, and Arabs. Next to this, we must not leave out of account that the justice, fair play, and impartiality of English administration in India, Egypt, and elsewhere is well known and fully appreciated in Asia Minor, and I am sure, if the opinion of the respective peoples in the Near East were invited, they would decidedly give preference to the English.

THE LAST RESPITE.

Last, but not least, a good deal depends upon the goodwill of the Turks themselves, and on whether they can make up their minds to drop the ancient method of dissembling, and rise to the serious decision of work, and of an unfeigned adhesion to Western culture. This was hitherto not the case, for most of the efforts were sham, calculated to throw sand in the eyes of Europe, and get through by relying upon the rivalry of the great Powers. If the Turks will consider that this is the last respite accorded to them by Europe, they will have to gather all their national strength, and try to issue victoriously out of the great problem. But should they neglect the opportunity, their future will be irretrievably gone ; they will cease to exist as a nation, and Europe will stand before the most dangerous task of dividing up Asia Minor for herself, which will be much more difficult, and connected with far greater dangers than would have been the case in the Balkans. It is therefore in the interest of humanity and of the peace of the world that the power of the Ottoman State in Asia Minor should consolidate itself, and thereby save the world from a most ominous conflagration.

A REMARKABLE RESULT OF THE LAST BALKAN UPHEAVAL.

By His EXCELLENCY CHEDO MIJATOVICH,
Former Servian Minister in Constantinople and at the Court of St. James's.

THE history of the last two Balkan wars, of the destruction of the Turkish Empire in Europe, and of the overthrow of the Bulgarian ascendancy in the Balkans, cannot be written now, and not for a long time yet. And it is well that it cannot, because the true revelations of history would stagger the world indeed. It is anyhow more practical and more interesting to consider and examine the necessary developments of the accomplished facts, and to study not the past, but the coming, history of the Balkan Peninsula.

We will begin by mentioning an important historical fact: Greeks, Servians, and Bulgars, since the time that they lost their national independence, never ceased for a moment to hope that one day, sooner or later, they would be able to regain that independence. The Turks, though conscious of their personal bravery and proud of it, and considering themselves, in virtue of their faith, superior to the nations whom they had subjugated by the force of their arms, somehow never got rid of the doubts they felt concerning the permanency of their dominant position in the Balkans. They themselves felt that their conquest of the Balkan nations was more *an occupation* of their territories—an occupation of uncertain duration—than a real and permanent

conquest. They could not assimilate the conquered races, nor could they be assimilated by them. That artificial mixture was one day to be separated and cleared away. The better war equipment and better military organization of the Christian Allies has simply given a clear expression to the psychological forces, which were working, somewhat slowly but persistently, in the political evolution of the Balkans.

That evolution was started on quite natural and healthy foundations, and has created more natural and healthier conditions and circumstances. The new political organization of the Balkans, expressed in the creation of national states of somewhat equal strength—in other words, realizing pretty well the "balance of power" amongst them—is of very good augury. All the Christian Balkan nations are to-day stronger than they were only a year ago. Even the Bulgars, notwithstanding their bitter complaints and posing as victims of the "rapacity" of their neighbours, after they have lost what they might have gained, are stronger to-day, having acquired more territory and a more numerous population, not to mention the strength of moral power which the patriotic, political, and moral concentration always gives. The Turks have, it is true, lost Albania, Kossovo, Macedonia, and at least a third part of Thrace; but their position after the Treaty of Bucharest is remarkably better than it was after the Peace of London. Greeks and Servians have directly and indirectly helped the Bulgars to conquer Thrace and Adrianople, and were prepared to march with them into Constantinople. Such an eventuality is absolutely impossible in the future. The Bulgarians alone and unsupported will no longer endanger Adrianople, and much less Constantinople. Now it has become quite evident that it is neither the interest of the Roumanians, nor of Serbs, nor of Greeks, that the Bulgars should be masters of Adrianople, not to mention Constantinople. Even the Russian Pan-slavists did not exert themselves very much about the retention of Adrianople by the Bulgarians. Of course, it

might be said that Russia earmarks Constantinople and Adrianople to claim them one day as her own. But now that day is farther away than ever. The new order of things in the Balkans cannot furnish any longer a plausible pretext for the Russian aggression against Turkey. The Balkan nations themselves, as independent, progressive, and liberal nations, would not like to see the powerful Russia mistress at Constantinople, because from that point her power would irresistibly radiate up to the Danube in the North and to the Adriatic in the West. Besides all that, the very fact that Russia is the ally of France and friend of England imposes a restraint on Russia's ambition. Naturally the Triple Alliance, and more especially Austria, can to-day less than ever encourage such a dream. In short, the security of Turkey's position on the Bosphorus and on the Golden Horn has decidedly improved. That improvement has been so great that Turkey's enemies of yesterday all desire to-day, and that very sincerely, to be her friends.

Now this unexpected result of the latest, and I honestly believe the last, upheaval in the Balkans, is by no means of only a local importance. It is of world-wide importance. Circumstances have now been created making the Christian Balkan nations wish for themselves that the Turks may still remain a Balkan nation. The same circumstances determined the great European powers to keep the Turks on European ground as a European nation. Of all the Muhammadan nations the Turks are the only one who can now claim the right to be considered as a European nation. In daily contact with Bulgarians, Greeks and Servians, who are all more or less civilized European nations, the Turks cannot help being penetrated by the European ideas. Political interest made us, the Balkan nations, paint the Turks as cruel Asiatic tyrants incapable of European civilization. An impartial history would prove that the Turks are rather Europeans than Asiatics, and that they are not cruel tyrants, but a nation loving justice and fairness, and pos-

sessing qualities and virtues which deserve to be acknowledged and respected. The martial era of the Turkish history having been, not ingloriously, closed, historical Providence seems to have in store a high mission for the Turks. Their Empire forms a clasp, connecting Europe and Asia, linking the Christian world to the Muhammadan world. Through them Christianity and Islam will shake hands together, and continue to develop on their independent lines, yet living in a friendly inter-dependence. The toleration of creeds was the object of civilized nations in the nineteenth century. The twentieth century must go a step forward and spread the consciousness that all the creeds and all the races are family relations. The Turks with one foot standing firmly on European ground, and with the other in Asia, have a great and grateful mission in spreading that consciousness among the Muhammadan nations in Asia. If the Khalif is to have still a historical task, such a task would be worthy of the great rôle which the Khaliffs have enacted in the past.

At any rate, it is an important historical fact that the last Balkan upheaval has accomplished a great work of not only a local but of a world-wide importance ; it has destroyed old, rotten, unhealthy and dangerous organizations—dangerous to the Balkan nations and to the peace of Europe—replaced it by a more natural, healthy, and durable fabric, based on the formation of comparatively strong national states keeping a reliable balance of power amongst them. It has opened new horizons of useful and progressive activity to all the Balkan nations, created new chances for a lasting Balkan federation—notwithstanding the temporary resentments and bitterness of the Bulgarians, which is sure to pass away speedily—and given also a new chance to the Turks to prove their capacity for civilization, their solidarity with the European nations, and their ability to work with them together for the further progress of the world.

RECENT TURKISH EVENTS AND MOSLEM INDIA.

By SHAH MOHAMMAD NAIMATULLAH.

I AM not sure that it is always advisable to recapitulate past events because of the risk of raking up old hostilities, which brings on as a natural sequence recrimination and unpleasantness. On the other hand, I maintain that more often than not we should still discuss such matters, although they are dead and gone, as it helps a great deal in the guidance of our future conduct. It is for this reason that I take the opportunity of writing on the Turkish question without further apology.

In dwelling upon this subject a natural question arises, What is the cause of all this trouble that has been menacing not only the locality directly affected, but practically the whole world? In the attempt to understand and analyze it we are brought face to face with another question, the conception of which would simplify matters beyond doubt; so let us examine at the very outset "if the Turk is really so bad as he is painted to be."

In answering this, one has to deal with the whole of the history of the Near East up to the present day, obviously a task which demands volumes to cover. However, I shall restrict myself to one or two points, and show that he is a different being to what his adversaries have described him, and that therefore the treatment meted out to him is not what justice and fair-play demand.

One of the chief criticisms to which he has been subjected is that he is too fanatic to consider the welfare of his other fellow-subjects who are not his co-religionists.

In the Koran the reader will find repeated statements as to the treatment to be accorded to neighbours. "Love your neighbours," "Be kind to them," "Consider your neighbour's rights," are the expressions one would come across frequently, not only in the Koran, but also in the sayings of Prophet (Hadith). How far this teaching is carried out in actual practice by the Turks can be substantiated by all those who know Turkey.

I have both oral and written evidence from eminent persons of this country who have lived there and studied their conditions, to the effect that the Turk is not only humane, but is just as much appreciative of the characteristics which ennable a man's life as any of the civilized nations. In fact, in some respects, he is found superior on account of the strong influence of the religion of which he is an adherent.

Much has been said about Turkish maladministration. I quite agree that during the reign of Abdul Hamid and prior to it, things were not satisfactory; but I maintain that any mischief done was only the inevitable result of an autocratic form of government. If, during those periods, an instance of a non-Moslem being made to suffer has been found, a searching inquiry will at once show that in nine cases out of ten the fate of a Moslem was not any better than that of his other fellow-subjects.

Assuming for the sake of argument that the Turk has been most brutal and inhuman towards his non-Moslem fellow-subjects, can anyone conscientiously say that the Powers who consider themselves the custodians of justice have ever suggested the right remedy for it. On the other hand, their action of redress has invariably proved far worse than the injury itself. The creation of consular courts with foreigners as judges, to try offences committed on Turkish soil by non-Turkish subjects, has not failed to create a large amount of mischief.

Turkey is not allowed to have the privilege of enhancing custom duty within the four walls of her own dominion, to suit the requirements of the country. She has been longing to increase the customs taxes by 4 per cent., which would help to improve her financial condition, but she dare not do it as it is against the will of the Powers. The foreigners in Turkey cannot be compelled to pay income-tax. I wonder if England or any other country would for a moment tolerate such foreign dictation, and yet Turkey is expected not to so much as raise her voice against such inequitable restrictions of liberty of action.

But after all, important as these are, they are only trifles compared to some other measures taken by the Powers, either singly or jointly. Let us now look back to the history of the past few years, and see if Turkey has been actually helped in formulating a better state of affairs, or only hindered from doing so.

Only a few years ago a constitutional form of government was introduced in Turkey extending equality to all, irrespective of race or creed. Instead of the support it deserved the Ottoman Government was hampered on every side, Bulgaria was made independent, and despite the promises on the part of the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, she was allowed to arm herself with the express purpose of attacking Turkey, who was always prevented by Russia and England from putting an end to the danger from that quarter.

This was followed by an unwarrantable raid by Italy on Tripoli without a note of protest by the Powers.

As if this was not enough a fresh campaign was started in this already weak and exhausted country, known as the Balkan War. This war was declared for the cause of liberation and freedom, but recent events have amply shown the actual motive of the so-called champions of freedom. I need not dwell at any great length upon what mischief has been done, and how much humanity has suffered, through this horrible affair, as it is only too

fresh in the minds of the world to reiterate. The accounts of brutal atrocities as given in the daily papers by Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, and other distinguished and impartial authorities, who have taken the trouble of undertaking the most unpleasant task of investigation, have had the effect of causing a thrill of horror to any reader. All this is being done in the twentieth century, not only without any protest on the part of civilized Europe, but what is still worse, as the events have shown, at their instigation, or at any rate at the instigation of the majority of them. I wonder what the historians will have to say in support of civilized Europe when they undertake the awkward task of recording the tales of massacre and bloodshed ?

It is rather interesting to trace the attitude of the British Government throughout the series of events. The glory and prestige of the British Nation all over the world is based on the tradition that they have from time to time stood for the cause of the oppressed and have been the support of the weak. In the Crimean War, England not only tried her best to check Russia from undue exercise of power, but when occasion arose actually came forward with her men and money to take up the cause of Turkey who was being bullied and crushed.

Can any one doubt that the sacrifice which England then made has borne ample fruit, inasmuch as it once more established her influence and good reputation both in the Eastern and Western hemispheres ? Nay, I should go further and say it had actually strengthened her power in her dominions, especially in India and Africa.

Let us for a moment pause and see how England has acted in the past few years and with what result. This at once brings us to another aspect of the question.

The British Government is not only one of the Great Powers, but by far the greatest Islamic power in the world. There are millions and millions of people who owe allegiance to the British Sovereign, but are for ethical reasons in some way attached to the Sultan of Turkey. No less than

75,000,000 of this section of population are Indian Mussalmans.

Perhaps it would not be out of place to mention how important a part religion still plays in the drama of life throughout the East, and especially in India. This is one of the greatest difficulties that a British official has to deal with in the general administration of a country. The Eastern people do not take religion as lightly as the Western. To them religion is above everything, and it permeates all the affairs of daily life.

The Sultan of Turkey is Khâdim-ul Qarnain Sherifain (servant of the two holy places of Mecca and Medina). It is this privilege that entitles him to call on every Moslem, wherever he may be living, to help him when the honour of these places are at stake.

Unlike the Pope of Rome, in ordinary circumstances he has no control over the people outside his Empire, but as he is keeper of the holy places, every Moslem, whether he belongs to Europe, Asia, or Africa, wishes to see him strong and powerful enough to successfully resist opposition. It is for this reason that the enemy of Turkey is looked upon as his own enemy by every Mussalman.

Anyone who knows about India will not be in the least surprised at the attitude of the Indian Moslems during the Balkan War. They have not only directly contributed large sums for the relief of sufferers, but have keenly felt the misfortune of Turkey as their own misfortune. In this national calamity the Muhammadans of India have not failed to watch and observe the policy of the Government under which they live.

At the commencement of the war the Prime Minister made important declarations that the *status quo* would be maintained irrespective of the issue of the war. After the struggle had taken the somewhat unexpected course of victory for the Allies, he did not hesitate to draw back from his declaration, and actually suggested that the victors should reap the fruits of their victory. But when

Turkey was found to recapture Adrianople, he suddenly had, in his great Birmingham speech, the effrontery to denounce her for claiming the fruits of her success. Are these statements consistent? Can this in any way escape censure?

Important announcements, coming from the high authority they do, are expected to have at least some principle in them, and they are not supposed merely to provide a sensation for the benefit of the daily papers.

As I have said before throughout the unfortunate struggle of Turkey, the Mussalmans of India have not been left unaffected. While sympathizing heartily with her, and they have shown it in more than one way, they have not failed to peruse the statements of the different responsible ministers with deep disappointment. Thanks to Lord Hardinge who, taking advantage of his diplomatic career, has tried his best to save the country from grave chaos, this has been slightly counteracted. But unfortunately, the single effort of Lord Hardinge to pacify Indian Moslems cannot successfully combat with the adamantine antagonism of the present ministry as repeatedly shown by the ministers themselves. I think no one could be more sorry than Lord Hardinge himself to note the indiscreet observations coming from the lips of eminent ministers.

Could not the present government follow the old English tradition of being a source of strength to the weak instead of conniving at the abominable act of crushing the oppressed, and sympathize with Turkey to the mutual advantage of both? I appeal to every Britisher in the name of millions of Mussalmans under the British flag to come forward and wipe out the stigma which has so ignobly marked the British diplomacy lately in connection with Balkan affairs, and show that he is still alive to the sense of equity and justice. I appeal to the present Government to look at the question more deeply and, in view of the situation all over the empire, change its anti-Turk attitude, before the fury of millions of fellow-subjects is kindled to a blaze and

brings disaster. Let ministers realize that this is not the time that England can afford to risk the peace and tranquillity of Empire through their speculative policies.

Let responsible European statesmen grasp that the policy of separation and exclusiveness cannot be upheld for any length of time without being detrimental to the cause of civilization. The progress of inventions has changed conditions enormously, and easy means of communication have brought the nations in much too close a contact to continue a belief in the fallacy that, "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

It is remarkable, yet not at all amazing to those who know India, what deep interest the Indian Moslems take in Turkish affairs. The masses seemed so anxious to have the accounts of the war that the journalists thought it necessary to start fresh vernacular papers as the demand suddenly became too numerous. People living in far distant villages and obscure places nevertheless sent to the nearest town every other day to get the Turkish news. The only ambition of the Indian Moslems in the past few months has been to help Turkey. Even the poor working-women have come forward with what little they possessed to add to the Turkish Fund in the hope that that little, insignificant as the amount was, might be of some use to their co-religionists in Turkey in their hour of trial.

The Muhammadans of India at this critical time looked to the Government to show its sympathy. We can imagine the extent of their feelings when they heard the impolitic declamations of the ministers.

Judging from the attitude of the country, it is impossible to say that the Mussalmans of India maintain the same regard and respect for the British Government as they did before they saw the hostile policy of the Government.

How far the Moslems are agitated over the anti-Turkish attitude of the Government can be ascertained from the unfortunate Cawnpore incident. The local magistrate wanted to demolish a portion of the mosque for some

municipal purpose. Despite the remonstrances of the Mussalmans to higher authorities, he succeeded in getting the portion taken off. The local Moslems, who in ordinary circumstances might have attributed it to the personality of the local magistrate, did not hesitate in coming to the unfortunate conclusion that the action of the magistrate was only the outcome of the anti-Islamic policy of the Government. They marched in thousands to repair the demolished portion. They were asked to withdraw, but as they thought it was a matter of religion, which was something more than life itself to them, they stood by till they were shot down. No less than twenty lives were lost, and many were wounded in this wretched affair.

Never before in the history of India has there been such a marked sign of unrest and agitation as has been manifested lately, and it is a matter of great regret and not beyond comprehension to those who have a spark of common sense, that the present ministry should stir and provoke the feelings of that section of the population of India which has hitherto kept aloof from taking an undesirable attitude towards the Government. But unfortunately the present anti-Turk policy of the ministers has driven them to come to the sad conclusion that they must stand on their own legs, and there is distinct change throughout the country in the friendly and intimate feelings which happily existed between them and the Government. And who knows that things are going to stop there? Unless there is a change in the foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey in connection with Turkish affairs, I fear that I see the signs of considerable trouble.

The Muhammadans of India have hitherto placed implicit confidence for their welfare in the British Government. They have looked upon the Government as their help and support not only in their own locality, but outside also, to aid those with whom they are connected by every tie of religion. I say that they have looked to the British Government for that in the past: I venture to hope that in future they will not look for it in vain.

A TURCO-BRITISH ENTENTE.

By ARTHUR FIELD,
Assistant Secretary of the Ottoman Committee.

IT is no less than a thorough understanding, on honestly sympathetic terms, that we, friends of the Ottoman Empire propose to the authorities and people of Great Britain. The history of English relations with Turkey is one of regrettable neglect, to say the least; while many have boldly declared that England has systematically broken faith and been party to the continued infraction of solemn treaties. Without going to the lengths of these extremists, the following record is worthy of serious consideration. Among the conditions of these treaties, those which restrict and hamper Turkey, or establish irritating, humiliating, and even destructive foreign intervention and control, have been religiously insisted on. I deal with this in another place. Here I point out that the prime conditions for Turkey—peace and integrity—have not been respected in the same way. By the Treaty of Paris, 1856, Europe guaranteed the integrity of the Empire with Roumania and Servia as dependent principalities. These pledges were not kept, and by the Treaty of London, 1871, Europe solemnly guaranteed what remained of Turkish possessions. We are not surprised to find Europe calmly reappearing on the scene in 1878 to ratify the shearing off of Servia and Roumania as kingdoms and Bulgaria as a principality, while

the chief signatories of this new instrument of solemn concert each took a piece for herself. Austria twice disregarded the Berlin Treaty, and Europe calmly assented. It also assented, and even applauded, when Bulgaria annexed Eastern Roumelia, and proclaimed her own independence. However, this was the occasion for a fresh demonstration by Europe. It again pledged itself to respect the remnant of Turkey in Europe. Austria was particularly prominent in these assurances, and England and France were, of course, parties. Yet Austria's ally, Italy, countenanced (as is now known) by England and France, descended on Tripoli. It is encouraging to note that in its treaty of peace with Turkey Italy undertakes to safeguard the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Such is part of the bitter record of Europe's unfortunate attitude to the Ottoman Empire. It appears to be the recognized standard of morals that we should view with alarm, horror and disgust every effort of that Empire to contend alone against a horde of despoilers, while silently permitting the breach of conventions unanimously arrived at in return for Turkish sacrifices. In our own times the Bulgar, Greek, and Serb could tear up the draft Treaty of London, and rearrange their side of the contract how they liked, but Turkey must receive the united howl of wrath from all Europe if it took the opportunity to regain control of its own territory.

Now why should this be? Why should an attitude have ever been adopted such as was unblushingly admitted by Lord Salisbury: that no territory ever lost by Turkey should be recoverable by her? It might have borne some semblance of equity had it carried the additional provision that no territory lost by a Christian power to Turkey should be recoverable. It was, however, clearly intended as an oppressive and preferential decree by Christendom against the Ottoman Empire. Such a decree has of course no validity save that of force, and can be operative only in so far as Turkey is unable to defy it. This prejudicial and

insulting attitude towards the Muslim world, is further expressed by an unquestioning support of all self-styled Christians, good, bad and indifferent. Christian propagandists, professional and otherwise, are characterized by this in a marked degree. Now, we oppose this prejudice, this lack of perception and of common justice, as being injurious to Christendom, injurious to British reputation, and contrary to every principle of equity.

It must be within the experience of numbers of the readers of this *Review* that the Turk has been found to be a very different man from the equivocal creature, dominated by a cruel, licentious and fanatical creed, so often pictured for the delectation of Christian audiences. In the course of casual conversation recently, a special sanitary commissioner of one of the leading medical journals expressed the following opinion : "The Turk is the live man of the East, and, in my opinion, the hope of the East. Among the common people, immense physical resources preserved by sobriety and rational diet. Among the ruling classes receptivity for all Western methods that do not endanger the national life. He is everywhere in striking contrast with the sort of Christians attracted to his Empire by business profits or official salaries."

Persons having relations residing in the Empire testify, in their wholly spontaneous correspondence home, to the polite, fair, and sympathetic treatment they have received from the Turk. Especially to foreign women the Turk is "a perfect gentleman." Much has been written against him as a Europeanized and therefore spoiled Asiatic. Yet if he had not consented to be Europeanized—that is, to receive and apply instruction from without, he would have been denounced as "incapable of adaptation to the spirit of the age." In fact, the two charges are made simultaneously.

The Hamidian régime, though not guilty of all it was accused of, was the rear-guard of the past. Why, then, do the critics of Turkey's past withhold their admiration and support from regenerated Turkey, which boldly broke with

the past, and seeks to lift from its people the tangled load of ancient abuses?

One advantage of the Osmanli's receptivity is that he acts as the port of entry for modernism, and thus prevents the stagnation of his empire, one of the possibilities of the very stable qualities of Eastern populations. It is the success, and not the failure, of such Western infiltration that has so perturbed certain Western circles. In Persia, in China, and in Turkey, the effect of the popular acceptance of democratic ideals was altogether too enthusiastic for interests outside. Alarm has invaded the financial and diplomatic circles of several European countries in presence of a new national vitality, which might conceivably attempt to limit that "pacific penetration" of which old Turkey was so hapless a victim. Who better fitted than the Turk to equitably rule the varied peoples of his empire? A grudging tribute is given by all travellers to the Turk calmly preserving a sort of peace between the warring Christian sects at the sacred places of the Holy Land. We have recently seen how Christians and Muslim have equally praised and supported the Ottoman rule in Adrianople. Turks, Greeks, Jews, etc., have united amicably in deputations representing Thracian towns and districts. The Armenian ecclesiastical authority of the Ottoman Empire has declared that the Armenians would far sooner be under Turkish than Russian rule, a bitter experience of the latter having been gained in Russian Armenia. A body of Bulgarian teachers in Sofia has testified to the fact that Bulgarian teachers and priests in Velles, Uskub and Monastir lived in peace and safety under the Turkish rule; but that they were assaulted, beaten, mutilated or murdered, by Serbs directly the Turkish protection disappeared. If the Turk remains the policeman of the Christians of Thrace, they will have every reason to rejoice.

The constant threats of armed intervention, the sapping of imperial strength by railway and commercial interests,

backed by their various governments, ought to come to an end, and nothing can contribute to this so forcibly as a healthy public opinion. Such an opinion will, we hope and believe, be honestly friendly to the Turk and his empire.

It will not prejudice our appeal to the sentiment of honour if we argue that Britain would only lose by the weakening and eventual dismemberment of Turkey. The immense periphery of Russian power would, in the latter event, be pushed almost to our doors. Should such a day dawn, our sleepy politicians would receive a rude awakening. To-day we flout our Japanese allies, whose imperial aims do not embrace any land contiguous to our dependencies, by an understanding with Russia. This understanding is regarded by most Englishmen as of no great significance to Britain, except in so far as Russian aspirations of the past looking towards India are now turned away from our great dependency. But the *entente* has already had effects of great significance. The first effect is written on Persia, where Russia has been brought strategically to our front-door. The next was to give a free course to the Slav conspiracy in the Balkans. By the conspiracy we gain nothing, we jeopardize our trade with Turkey, we aggrandize the Slavonic power, and we arouse alarm and unrest throughout Islam.

The Ottoman Empire rules the sacred towns of Mecca and Medina, and chiefly by reason of this fact the Caliphate, or headship, of Islam is vested in the Sultan. This Caliphate means far more than the Ottoman Empire, though bound up with its continuance. It exercises a spiritual dominion over 250 millions of Muslims, distributed approximately as follows:

Russian Empire	...	...	...	7,000,000
Ottoman Empire	...	...	...	15,000,000
French Republic	...	...	...	25,000,000
Chinese Republic	..	...	...	35,000,000
British Empire	...	...	...	105,000,000
All other empires and kingdoms				70,000,000

There are constant evidences that the allegiance of Muhammadan subjects in the British Empire to the Caliphate is a living fact. Being such, it would manifestly be a short-sighted policy, to say the least, which would support or countenance the disintegration of the empire over which the Caliph rules as temporal ruler.

The integrity of the Ottoman Empire is keenly felt by a hundred millions of our subjects to be essential to the preservation of their faith. Islam of the twentieth century is not conquered or dead. It is seeking the means of life; it has given every evidence of power against unfair and terrible odds; its enemies constructed a wide-reaching conspiracy which has tumbled to pieces. We have the simplicity to believe that the conspiracy was shattered as much by its inherent immorality and unintelligent greed as by the unconquerable patriotism and devotion of the Turk and his fellow nationals in Europe. It is Islam which is regenerating and will utterly reform Turkey. Christendom has neither the power nor the desire. But it is absolutely necessary for Islam to have a land to call its own, as without a Muhammadan government it cannot foster its own evolution and give expression to its new life. The Muslim has seen country after country torn away from the imperial control or its possession openly challenged. The empire has arrived at a state which can suffer no further curtailment without mortal injury. Yet everywhere the old spirit of dividing up the Turk's clothes before he is dead continues, and all nations treat with smiling scepticism his resolution to live a new, healthy, and vigorous life.

The continued interference of foreigners with Turkish internal affairs, even when based on treaties and agreements (often accepted at the bayonet's point, or based on the ruinous loans of the old régime) is an abrogation of all Western principles of national integrity. The time has come for Britain to clearly state that she does not covet any further portion of the Ottoman Empire, either in Europe or in Asia. It will be necessary, if this declaration

is to be honest and honourable, that she should declare that her Continental understandings do not connote any support of such a dismemberment by other nations.

If Britain does this, she will be amply rewarded in a very important direction. The views and aspirations of the Indian peoples have the utmost significance for us. Partly from the natural evolution of ideas, and partly by the invasion of Western principles, there has arisen in important native channels an indisputable feeling for a further share in the government as well as the administration of the country. This has been greatly strengthened by the progressive exclusion of Indian natives from executive positions. In all the movements towards self-government, or a greater share in Indian affairs, we have relied on the religious rivalries of the inhabitants as a solvent. Up to quite recent times there have been few things in common between Hindu and Muslim, and there has been great rivalry, and even physical violence. To prevent the union of these forces, and the assumed weakening of British authority as a result, the unwritten law of British rule has tended to the cultivation of Muhammadan friendship. It is certain that we are now in danger of straining, even to the breaking-point, the loyalty we have so assiduously cultivated. Our great opportunity is at hand. We must extend to the Caliphate a sincere and active sympathy.

It is my wish to advocate the claim of Turkey to a place in the sun. I have assumed with confidence that a love of fair play still animates the British citizen. I have tried to show that as a nation we should not benefit by the breaking up of the Ottoman Empire. I have given my opinion that, even if we knew we would gain by it, we should and will refuse a benefit obtained by the subjugation and despair of a population rightly struggling to be free. Finally, I assert that Turkey has a claim to our friendship, and has done nothing to forfeit our interest or our affection.

THE CHINESE REPUBLIC.

By E. H. PARKER.

IT is fairly safe to say that the successive plunges into parliamentary life taken by Russia, Persia, Turkey, and China in turn must have been one of the indirect results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, and that the latter was the inevitable sequel to the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-95. Ten years ago it seemed almost impossible that the much-battered but ever resilient Manchu Dynasty could really be driven out of China; it was "unthinkable" that it would retire almost voluntarily under a sort of cash arrangement; whilst the mere idea of a Chinese Republic had scarcely even entered the head of the most rabid anti-Manchu, until Sun Yat-sen instituted his propaganda. Yet here we now are, right in the midst of a complete transformation; the unexpected has happened, and no one feels quite reassured as to the ultimate outcome. All practical men seem to be agreed that a great deal depends upon the life of one individual, Yüan Shih-k'ai, a man who, ever since he made his first bow to the public as a subordinate military commander in Korea during the squalid intrigues of 1884-85, has stood apart from all other hitherto known Chinese in one superlative way—he knows his own mind, thinks in a straight line, and fearlessly acts accordingly. The writer first made his acquaintance in 1885, when he was bringing back to Korea, after over a year's Chinese captivity, the

King's intriguing father; and various allusions to these exceptional qualities of his have since been made, both in this *Review* and in other published books* and magazines. Like most naturally great minds his is simple and straightforward, or at least it is so in so far as his limited culture and crooked surroundings permit of its natural development. Ever since the revolution of October, 1911, he has been the pivot round which the whirligig of political passion has been raging in (thus far) impotent centrifugal efforts, and if careful note be taken of his two years' mandates or edicts from day to day, it will be seen that practical common sense, personal shrewdness, absence of bias or pettiness, and general all-round toleration have from first to last been their chief characteristics.

As most of the leading men in the new republic—including Li Yüan-hung, the Vice-President and Officiating Tutuh of Hu Peh Province—were unknown to the general public previous to the revolution of 1911; and as innumerable and overlapping *tang*, or political parties with local, personal, and ill-defined political schemes in view, continue to obscure the situation, it is extremely difficult, even for old and experienced foreign residents on the spot, whether at the treaty ports or in the interior, to follow intelligently and comprehensively the general trend of affairs: on the other hand, in view of the outsider's limited knowledge of Chinese geography, of the uncouthness (to him) of proper names, and of the vagaries of newspaper spelling, how is it to be expected that he should be able to take just measure of the individuals and motives engaged in the welter? Things are not, however, quite so black as they look to us in Europe or America through the spectacles of Press telegrams, and the level-headed will probably have already taken note with satisfaction that trade records, despite confusion or loss in this or that line at uncertain intervals, continue to be made in many districts in spite of it all;

* Notably in the preface and the text of "John Chinaman" (Murray, 1901).

whilst those foreign explorers, merchants, and missionaries who send private accounts of their immediate surroundings home are rather inclined to make sport of the supposed dangers that surround them in the anxious minds of their European friends. If a highly organized and thoroughly centralized administration like that of Germany were to be suddenly cast into political hotch-potch as China now is, we can all of us easily imagine what general confusion would follow: successive revolutions in France have also illustrated the temporary helplessness of a great European power in the throes of political change; not to speak of Portugal, Persia, and the Balkans. The Chinese native newspapers, about six months ago, published a friendly private letter from Mr. W. W. Rockhill to Yüan Shih-k'ai, in which that eminent diplomatist, whilst of course maintaining all proper official reserve, illustrated from what was taking place in the Balkan peninsula, the supreme importance of "pulling together" in China, and of subordinating party passion to the attainment of one supreme object in view. Those who are inclined to despair of China's ever righting herself and gaining an even keel for the *grand voyage* she has begun must not forget that one outstanding fact inspires abundant hope—that is, under the ancient social and economical system, China, under whatever vicissitude, always has been, and still is, practically a democratic republic, enjoying, under nominal imperial guidance, complete home rule; her main wealth does not lie in bonds, securities, gold balances, capitalized industries, steamers, railroads, etc., as with us, but in an industrious peasantry firmly rooted to the soil, which peasantry manages its own affairs, and is practically indestructible; the very absence of roads and means of communication tend to make it still more self-contained and independent. Commerce and industry are also self-managing, just as is agriculture. A man and his family own, say, ten acres, on which they pay an annual tax to the nearest city of £1 a year; they own a house, or a shelter of some sort that cannot be removed, is scarcely

worth the trouble of destroying, and can be patched up in a few hours; industry throughout China is retail, and mere house-to-house activity; the whole of the furniture and gear would not fetch a £5 note; and, in any case, every Chinese can be fairly comfortable at a pinch without tables, chairs, beds, knives, forks, or spoons. The whole wealth consists in one or more ploughing animals, and pigs, hens, ducks, or geese, rice and vegetable crops, a loom, a press, tools of trade, a box of best clothes, the women's jewellery and gewgaws, pipes, fans, umbrellas, etc. As the whole of the peasants all over China live in almost exactly the same way, they tend to support each other in difficult situations. A horde of discharged soldiers or bandits belonging to this or that *tang* may get out of hand and sweep over the country; but even the bandits need shelter, rice, savouries, and vegetables; and, after all, who are the soldiers and bandits but the peasants themselves? The peasants settle all local affairs at the village temple, and avoid the mandarins altogether. The bandits are merely human matter temporarily in the wrong place, but with the same instincts and sympathies at bottom. These millions of peasants want—and get when they can afford it—tobacco, tea, oil, salt, sugar, "purple and fine linen," medicines, opium (now, happily, on a reduced scale), bullion and gems for hoarding, new things like soap and cosmetics, watches, musical boxes, and (since the revolution) foreign clothes for the men. These wants make trade, and as the crops seem to be generally excellent just now, and each peasant finds a surplus, so trade is good. Whether obedient to the behests of the Peking boards, or inclined exclusively to support their own Tutuh, or utterly indifferent to both, things go on, and must go on, all the same. If the bandit *tangs* occasionally do damage, then trade is locally bad for a spell, and certain foreigners "howl"; but, after all, there are "cakes and ale" for everybody, and things go round somehow; even if they don't, the Chinese do not grumble if a few million starve in an orderly manner—they can be

spared. In many or even most senses it really does not matter two straws to 95 per cent. of the rural population whether there is a government or not; whether what government there is is at Peking, Nanking, Wuchang, or Canton; and of what individuals, honest or dishonest, that government consists.

In other words, China is a vast and inexhaustible sponge, and the only secondary question is who is to squeeze it and suck it. If 400,000,000 people only contributed to "government" two shillings a year per head, 40,000,000 sterling is there at hand without great effort for somebody. Owing to the mismanagement of the latter-day Manchus—aided by reactionary pedantic Chinese—a considerable fraction of this annual squeeze has practically passed as loan "services" into the hands of foreigners, and foreign "finance" would probably have gone further, and rendered native central government impossible long ago, had it not been for the conflicting interests, alliances, and mutual accommodations of the "Powers." If all white Powers agreed to efface themselves, a Japanese dynasty could establish itself in a month, and would probably (for a time) be a blessing to China. As to the future, the Southern or Cantonese faction has proved itself rather iconoclastic than creative so far. Yüan Shih-k'ai seems, whatever his faults, to be absolutely the only man with sufficient nerve to steer the crazy barque safely through the rocks that beset it. Perhaps Li Yüan-hung is a good second. Recent telegrams say the former has issued a mandate promising to resign so soon as peace is restored: probably that does not mean very much; not that Yüan nourishes extreme ambitions for himself; but he seems to be a genuine patriot, and, feeling that greatness has been accidentally thrust upon him, he possesses the courage to stick to it until a more suitable man than himself shall honestly secure the popular suffrages. Not a bad solution would be for Yüan to "evolute" into a purely constitutional emperor, *i.e.*, if things will persist in not quieting down in any other way.

The very latest telegrams (September 11) indicate that Yüan's personal influence and sagacity has succeeded for the moment in collecting a very respectable, hopeful Cabinet. Twan K'i-jwei, his Minister of War (for some months past also acting Premier), is, despite certain wild oats sown at Tientsin, manifestly his right-hand man, whom he can thoroughly trust; and evidently Mr. Liu, Chief of the Admiralty, has also proved his stanchness. With all the supreme military and naval power thus in safe hands, Yüan has a good basis to build on. Wang Ta-sieh (Education) is the former Minister to England, who in 1906 first evolved the anti-opium scheme afterwards elaborated by T'ang Shao-i. He it was, too, who read a learned paper in 1907 before the London China Society, proving that China had a democratic parliament "of sorts" nearly 3,000 years ago. Amongst his minor literary achievements is a calligraphic preface to Sir W. Hillier's "Chinese and how to Learn It." Chang Kien (Trade, etc.) is a well-known Shanghai figure, and seems never to have committed any public fault, and to be a sort of Chinese Washington. Liang K'i-ch'ao (Justice) was one of the heroes of K'ang Yu-wei times; and it does Yüan great credit that he has been able to secure the coöperation of so learned and able a Cantonese. Chou Tsz-ts'i (Communications) has for two years ruled Shan Tung with credit. Sun Pao-k'i (Foreign Affairs) is the long-bearded man described by McCormick, who was Governor of Shan Tung previously to Chou, and whose son married Prince K'ing's daughter shortly before the revolution. Hiung Hi-ling (Premier and Finance) held the latter portfolio when the Five Power Loan was first on the tapis, and has since been Military Governor of Jéhol in Chinese Tartary; at his recommendation Jéhol is to be made an independent regulation province. Mr. Chu (Interior) has hitherto been a steady Minister in other capacities. It is satisfactory to see from Yüan's latest edict that "Shum" (*alias* Ts'êñ Ch'un-hüan), once Viceroy of Si Ch'wan and of Canton, is to be arrested as a traitor wherever found; he

is an able determined man, but, like his distinguished father, rather savage and treacherous both by origin and instinct. Last, but not least, we must remember Dr. Morrison, of whom no one ever hears anything. Like all good advisers he is silent, and like all successful "powers" he makes no history. No doubt he believes in Yüan as Yüan believes in him. Though, thanks to the *Daily Mail's* "intelligent anticipations," his obituary was published in the *Times* of August, 1900, we may be sure that his spirit still liveth somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood of Yüan.

PREFERENCE IN INDIA.

By J. B. PENNINGTON.

THE *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, to quote its own policy, "is not connected in any way with party politics." It aims at "the fostering of good-will between East and West." Its motto is: "A fair hearing and no favour." "Its pages are open to controversy, but only so far as such controversy is conducted in a spirit of loyalty, courtesy and mutual tolerance."

Unhappily, one purely economic subject of controversy, the question of the proper use to which custom-houses shall be put, has become a party question in this country. There are still Unionists who believe that custom-houses should only be used as a means of obtaining revenue. There may be, also, Liberals who hold that custom-houses may properly be used as a means of defending our own manufacturers against the subsidized or otherwise protected manufacturers of other countries, if the "most favoured nation" clause is not sufficient protection. But, for some reason not easily explained, the majority of our Unionists have made the second doctrine a part of their party creed. It must be admitted, on the other hand, that most Liberals are "Free-Traders" (so-called), and hold that British manufactures need no custom-house protection so long as they have free access to the countries from which they draw their raw materials. One would think that this was a question chiefly for British

manufacturers and traders, and that they would be petitioning Government for or against "Free Trade." Not so, however. The question of Tariff Reform, as it is called, has become with the Unionists a matter of party discipline and loyalty. A man cannot be a true Unionist, it seems, unless he believes that custom-houses can and should be used for the protection of British manufactures against the competition of those of their rivals who are similarly protected by *their* Governments. Moreover, he must believe that the British colonies can be persuaded to relax their protection of their own industries as against us, their most formidable rivals, on condition that they may be allowed to put taxes on the manufactures of other countries. Finally, it seems he must believe that India ought to be allowed to protect herself against the rivalry of foreign manufacturers—on condition that she does not protect herself against her most formidable rivals, our own manufacturers. What such a creed has to do with party politics, except perhaps as a matter of expediency and winning of votes, it is a little difficult to see. All the more reason, perhaps, why its foundations should be explained by competent persons in a *Review* whose *raison d'être* is to foster kindly relations between East and West.

But, unfortunately, this difficult problem of indirect taxation, a problem of political economy, has become part of the political creed of Unionists and Liberals alike. Liberals believe that, seeing that the trade of the country has never been so prosperous as now, seeing that the trade of India is expanding steadily, it is expedient to leave the custom-houses of both countries to their normal task of raising revenue, without using them to help or hinder any particular trade or manufacture. Unionists do not agree. "Free Trade" is only profitable, they hold, if all countries would treat their custom-houses as the Indian and British custom-houses are now treated. All who hold other views are traitors to the Unionist cause, and any decent means of discomfiting them is fair. Not persuasion, but the election of a Tariff Reform

administration is the right means of enforcing the orthodox doctrine as to this somewhat abstruse fiscal question. Votes are to settle it, the votes of thousands of people who may have smuggled eau-de-Cologne or tobacco through custom-houses, but have probably very small qualification otherwise for discussing questions of the probable economic effects of indirect taxation. The situation is puzzling to those Anglo-Indians, (there are a few,) who, in the American phrase, are "mug-wumps," and are not prepared to believe that either party is infallible. Especially are they "mug wumps" where questions of Indian administration are concerned. Even Secretaries of State, (however intelligent and virtuous they may be,) are not experts in Indian administration. They have also a way of over-ruling the views of their official advisers, though these *are* (usually) experts in Indian administration. Moreover, both parties, (somewhat platonically perhaps,) declare that Indian questions, like questions of national defence, shall be kept apart from party politics, but have to resist temptations to utilize Indian fiscal questions for party purposes.

On the other hand, the Secretary of State is always a party politician; and when he makes a mistake, (or seems to make a mistake,) it is only natural that the opposite party should proceed to show up his ignorance, his fatuity, his recklessness, his disregard of British or Indian interests, or both. If it is in a matter of custom-houses, all the better. We all hold strong views as to the proper uses of custom-houses nowadays.

The present Secretary of State issued a Blue-book containing the Indian Budget for 1911-12, "and Discussions thereon." This Blue-book did not contain a motion by the Hon. Mr. Dadabhoy to abolish the excise duty on Indian cotton goods. Obviously this omission could be made to seem as though the Secretary of State was unwilling that Members of Parliament should become aware of the fact that the unofficial members of the Viceroy's Council are protectionists to a man. Most of us know that this is the

fact, but as a matter of party tactics it was quite permissible for Sir John Spear to ask indignantly why the discussion on the excise duty had not been included in the Blue-book. The answer he received must, one thinks, have caused him mild disappointment. Mr. Baker replied that the Blue-book was a report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council on the days on which the Financial Statement and Budget were under discussion, and that Mr. Dadabhoy's motion was made on a day on which the Budget was *not* under discussion. Therefore it was not included in the Blue-book. It was, however, printed in the ordinary Proceedings of the Council, which are open to inspection in the Library of the India Office.

If this question of the excise duty on cotton goods had been some new invention of Mr. Dadabhoy, suddenly sprung on an astonished and outraged Secretary of State, we might imagine that harassed being wildly endeavouring to "burke" its discussion till he had had time to make up his own mind. But, surely, if there is one Indian question which has been discussed *ad nauseam*, and as to which not only Secretaries of State, but ordinary citizens who take any interest in the matter, have made up their minds, it is this question of the excise duty. Sir J. Spear's question was an amusing example of the simple subtleties of English Parliamentary practice. Mr. Baker refused to be drawn into a discussion of the fiscal merits or demerits of the excise duty. He refused to admit, as the question invited him to admit, that it was Mr. W. H. Clark who had procured the omission of the motion and subsequent debate from the Blue-book. Obviously not all proceedings of the Viceroy's Council go into Blue-books, and the public, so far as it is interested in these matters, has other means, through the newspapers, of finding out what subjects are discussed. It is most unlikely that anything new was said on a well-worn subject. We all know that while some hold that the Indian import duty on foreign cotton goods should be balanced by an excise duty, lest it should act as a protective duty, others hold that

Indian cotton goods do not compete with imported cotton goods, being of a different quality and sold to a different class of consumers. Mr. Dadabhoy, on the other hand, holds (with his non-official colleagues) that Indian cotton goods *should* be protected. He is quite entitled to hold this view. It is not likely that the very Government which has enlarged the Viceroy's Council would wish to muzzle the Councillors, or to conceal their debates from Parliament.

Such, perhaps, is the view that the plain man would hold about a not very important Parliamentary episode. At the same time a party journal might, on the one hand, have waxed indignant at the failure to include Mr. Dadabhoy's discussion (of a subject often debated) in the Blue-book, or, on the other hand, might have remarked that Sir John Spear's shaft had been neatly parried. Surely, with all due respect for a deservedly popular well-wisher of India, it is rather surprising to find this Parliamentary *hors d'œuvre* made the subject of an acrimonious article on "The Suppressed (*sic*) Debate on the Indian Cotton Excise" in the *Asiatic Quarterly*. I use the word "acrimonious," because the article contains what can only be called a personal attack on the Hon. Mr. W. H. Clark, "the very able and eloquent young gentleman whom Mr. Lloyd George had provided for the Indian Ministry of Commerce and Industry, presumably for this purpose." For the purpose, that is, of being "the sole champion of the duty." No one denies Sir Roper Lethbridge's "loyalty" and "courtesy." (I quote from the prospectus of this *Review*.) He has given his proofs. But the youngest—and the oldest—of us are apt to let our party feelings run away with us. Unfortunately, custom-houses are now a subject of party feeling, and hence Sir Roper Lethbridge has been betrayed into the suggestion that it was Mr. Lloyd George who sent Mr. W. H. Clark out to India—"presumably" to defend the cotton excise duty, a charge repeated in his recently published volume without any reference to a letter in the last number

of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, in which I gave some reasons for doubting the story. Even if the suggestion be a correct one, the precaution was, on Sir Roper's own showing, wholly unnecessary, since "the Government" (the British Government of India) "was saved from defeat by the votes of its English official nominees!" But surely, in spite of the note of admiration, we must say that this is the usual result of fiscal debates in the Viceroy's Council. The non-official Indian members of Council are protectionists to a man, and the official members of Council are not convinced that protection for India is desirable, or even possible at present. Sir Roper himself thinks that protection in a form that would be hostile to British industry is "hardly practical politics."

Whether Mr. Lloyd George used his influence with the Secretary of State for India to ensure the nomination of Mr. Clark to a post in India; whether his object in doing so was "presumably for this purpose," is a matter as to which, so far as most of us know, the Secretary of State has not yet unbosomed himself to the general public, and Sir Roper does not give his authority for the suggestion. Anyhow, this is a personal matter, and has little to do with the general question of the fairness of the excise duty. The question whether the excise duty is an unfair handicap in the competition of the Indian mills with Japan is a different matter. That, as the *Times* said in its leading article of April 17, is a matter of protection, and Sir Roper Lethbridge and his party do not seem prepared to allow India to protect her industries against the world at large.

What they do want, apparently, (to judge by Sir Roper Lethbridge's postscript to his article,) is that, "in a spirit of the highest statesmanship," educated India should join Sir G. Chitnavis in thinking "that it is desirable to consider the possibility of increasing the revenue under a system of preferential tariffs with the United Kingdom and the Colonies." The *Times* reads Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's speech in answer to Sir G. Chitnavis's motion as being

practically a condemnation of preference in our favour in India, and is itself a very Balaam in cursing where blessing might perhaps have been expected. It approves of a preferential arrangement with the Colonies, because preference is better than rigid protection. But it fails to see that preference is better than the existing Free Trade with India. It wants an open door in China, and fails to see how we can ask for that open door if we allow India to close its door to the trade of China and Japan. The *Times* may be quite wrong. But, at least, it does not charge the India Office with economical bigotry, or suggest that Mr. Clark's appointment was a party job intended to secure Manchester in the enjoyment of its practical monopoly of the Indian import trade in the higher grades of cotton goods. Sir Guy Wilson pleads for "consideration, not recrimination;" for "a full, temperate, and unbiassed consideration by the Indian public of a question which must in the future vitally affect India and its prosperity." Surely that is a matter which can be discussed in these pages without heat of party feeling, without personal allusions, with a sense that the question is chiefly one for men of business and financiers. Sir Guy Wilson says that the financial aspect of the question "is one of extraordinary complexity, as well as of no small speculation, and I need hardly say," he adds, "that it would have to be most exhaustively considered before any steps could be taken towards Tariff Reform." If so, the moment seems ill chosen for charging the India Office with "suppressing" a debate on so comparatively simple a matter as the excise duty on cotton.

In home politics we can easily excuse a little excess of party zeal. Over here we fight on equal terms and make due allowances for party enthusiasm. In India the case is obviously different. Sir G. Chitnavis would prefer protection pure and simple; but, knowing that neither of the British parties seems likely to allow that, he is willing to "consider financial measures for strengthening the resources of the Government, with special reference to the possibility of

increasing the revenue under a system of preferential tariffs with the United Kingdom and the Colonies. We have yet to learn in what manner Sir G. Chitnavis thinks a preferential tariff will increase the wealth and prosperity of India, and it is perhaps a little premature to credit him with "a spirit of the highest statesmanship."

Surely it is not only kinder but wiser to suppose that both our parties are moved by "a spirit of the highest statesmanship" in their dealings with India; by a spirit, that is, of quite unselfish regard for the welfare and prosperity of India. We must not enrich the few at the expense of the many; we must not hastily commit ourselves to any panacea for the economic ills to which India is, or may be, a prey. We cannot revive her vanished domestic industries, (if they have vanished). The question of enabling her to compete with the factory products of Europe, America, and Japan is obviously a difficult one. It does not by any means follow that it can be effected by taxation, looking to climatic conditions and the quality of the Indian labour force, any more than it is certain that taxing foreign sugar will produce a scientific cultivation of sugar-cane in India, or that the capital to be so employed might not be better expended on other industries. Sir Roper Lethbridge in his last paragraph appeals to "every intelligent reader" to agree with him in his view of the import of Sir Guy Wilson's admirable speech, and does not seem to see the implication that his estimation of his reader's intelligence will be in exact proportion to the reader's agreement with his own preconceived views. It is just this fashion of treating difficult controversial questions which creates prejudice against Sir Roper's possibly quite just ideas. He takes too much for granted, and that in a discussion in which, as Sir Guy Wilson urges, we must walk

* In addition to the half-million or so of mill operators and their families there are about six millions who depend on similar hard industries, and who are (incidentally) protected by the excise duty on the produce of power-mills.

warily and not be, so far as India is concerned, Free Traders, or Protectionists, or Tariff Reformers. We must still keep an open mind, and not be convinced that cheap cotton from Japan, or from Manchester either for that matter, is necessarily a calamity for India. Where other countries insist on "taking in their own washing" when we are sure that we can do their washing in our own laundry cheaper than it can be done at home, we must try to persuade them of the error of their ways, and perhaps retaliation may be the only way of doing so. But we may as well refrain from personal allusions which may be misunderstood in India, and will certainly not help Mr. Clark in his difficult and responsible work.

But Sir Roper Lethbridge has probably, by this time, repented him of the hasty impulse which led him to attach an excessive importance to Sir John Spear's innocent piece of party strategy. No one will wish, on the other hand, to attach excessive importance to Sir Roper's own article. But it is important that the *Asiatic Quarterly* should keep its pages for real controversy, for careful and impartial statements of fact and argument. There are many channels for the ventilation of party enthusiasms, for the good old-fashioned British assertions, such as the assertion that "any intelligent reader" must needs believe that Imperial preference will necessarily be good for India because the bulk of the Unionist party is convinced that it will be good for British industries. It is difficult enough, as it is, for British statesmen to think of Indian problems with a sole view to the benefit of India. It is almost equally difficult for Indian members of Council to resist the temptation to think that since Manchester has a practical monopoly of the higher grades of cotton cloth, Protection, or even Preference, will necessarily sap that monopoly. It is, to be sure, a pleasant sight to see Sir G. Chitnavis and Sir Roper Lethbridge agreeing together "in a spirit of the highest statesmanship"; but where India is concerned, we cannot allow any side or party to claim a monopoly of "the highest statesmanship,"

which, in this case, is an unselfish wish for the highest degree of prosperity and welfare attainable by India under existing conditions. India is fairly prosperous as it is, and it has yet to be proved that any tinkering with custom-houses will turn the Indian ryot into the counterpart of a Lancashire operative, or that he will enjoy his new incarnation if it can be effected.

No one can do better service, under the circumstances, than Sir Roper himself, if he will remember that many tolerably intelligent readers in India and Great Britain are not yet persuaded that changes in tariff will benefit India. It is his business to convince them. He will hardly do so by asserting that a debate in Council was "suppressed," because it was printed in Proceedings and not in a Blue-book. Even if, owing to the wicked machinations of Mr. Lloyd George and his former private secretary, the debate had been suppressed, *magna est veritas et prevalebit*. The facts of the cotton excise are common property, and everyone knows what the Indian members of Council think about them. Their opinion is a very important matter. And it is important that in a *Review* much read in India it should not too rashly be suggested that their opinion was not only neglected, but "suppressed." Most of us over here will cherish an optimistic belief that Lord Crewe, even if he does not share Sir G. Chitnavis's opinions, gives them the most careful and serious consideration. I feel pretty sure that Sir Roper himself really shares this belief, and that his article was merely due to a generous admiration of Sir John Spear's ingenious (if unsuccessful) attempt to "draw" Mr. Baker, and to take a not unfair advantage of the fact that Mr. Baker is still "very young both in years and in Parliamentary experience." But we have all been young, and the net result of this particular (rather trivial) discussion is that many of us will feel some sympathy with young Mr. Baker in having to give a Parliamentary answer to a typically Parliamentary question launched on somewhat old-fashioned lines.

INDIA'S FIRST MOVE IN IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

By G. ELDON MANISTY, I.C.S.

A BOOK of exceptional interest, especially, perhaps, for "old Indians,"* has lately been written by Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., M.A., than whom nobody could well be more qualified to treat such a subject, he having spent many years in India, and being a F.R.E(economic)s. That the subject is of practical importance is proved by the fact that Mr. Austen Chamberlain has written an Introduction to the book, which is well-timed in its appearance, the air being just now particularly full of plans for consolidating our Empire.

Before examining the "offer," it may be well to briefly describe the present state of things in India, and the causes of the desire of Indians for a change in fiscal policy. The existing policy is called "Free Trade," though there is a general tariff of 5 per cent., reduced on cotton cloth to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., *ad valorem*; an excise of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on Indian mill-made cotton cloth (only); and a small export duty on rice; with no preference on British imports. The vast bulk of the population, 90 per cent. of the 315,000,000, is agricultural and mostly poor, the land being frightfully overcrowded, even to the extent of 900 to the square mile in some parts.

* "The Indian Offer of Imperial Preference."

Some of the inevitable evil results of this state of things are graphically described. As to sugar production, for instance, we read :

"There was a time when India furnished half the sugar of the world, and exported enormous quantities. Now her export trade has vanished, hundreds of thousands of acres of sugar-cane have gone out of cultivation, and she imports from Protectionist countries sugar to the value of at least six or seven millions sterling per annum!"

Again, with regard to possible wheat-growing :

"There are many millions of acres of good wheat-growing land in the Punjab and the Upper Provinces lying idle—cultivable but uncultivated—that only await the irrigation canal and the plough."

Then, in raw materials, the production is already enormous, but, instead of being worked up in India and so providing employment off the land, as is urgently required for any real progress, we are told :

"Hitherto, Cobdenism has limited her industrial expansion, so as yet she exports all this wealth of raw material to be worked up by Germany, Japan, and every foreign country."

Owing to the present fiscal system, or chaos, the rest of the Empire loses largely the benefit of these exports, e.g.—

"at this moment, of raw jute to the value of £13,000,000 sterling that is exported from Bengal, only £3,000,000 worth is worked up in Great Britain, the balance being exported, either directly or through British ports, to be worked up by the lucky artisans of foreign protected nations!"

A most provoking illustration of this has been afforded even since Sir Roper Lethbridge's book came out, by the International Cotton Federation's deputation to Lord Crewe

on July 22, 1913, when Herr Langen declared that Germany used six times more Indian cotton than England. Yet England, under a "Free Trade" Cabinet, is spending money lavishly to increase cotton production!

Grievous as are the ills besetting Indian production, the conditions of her consumption are Imperially scarce more tolerable under Cobdenism, and they are to-day growing worse instead of better. Thus we read that—

"Japan already holds nearly the whole of the Indian trade in cotton hosiery and underwear, having ousted both Indian and British trade, and caused the stoppage of factories in Bombay; she shares with Austria, Sweden, and Norway the vast trade in matches, having ousted British trade; she almost monopolizes the silk piece-goods trade, selling (in 1911) 16,613,906 yards to a British sale of 307,593 yards; and she has more than doubled her Indian sales of porcelain and earthenware during the last five years!"

As to woollen goods :

"now of woollen yarn and knitting-wool Germany supplies to India about seven times as much as we do!"

Sir Roper naturally asks, "Why should Belgium and Germany send to India about eight times the amount of steel-bars, and about four times the value of iron bars that we send; or, again, in glass and glassware, "Why should Austria and Germany supply the bulk of India's needs?" He gives us the answer, which covers many other British industries as well: "The only possible answer in every case is, that we are hopelessly handicapped by our worship of the fetish of Cobdenism. Formerly in all these branches of trade we were absolutely pre-eminent; now we are practically nowhere."

All this is calculated to make British blood boil with indignation, but the worst evil of all of the present Cobdenism

in India, because it affects national morality, as well as economical sanity, and has far reaching political, as well as industrial, effects on the people of India, is the excise duty on cotton cloth made in Indian mills to countervail the equal import duty on Lancashire cloth. Not only have all educated Indians always denounced this iniquitous measure, but that extremely competent and independent critic, Sir Valentine Chirol, fully agrees in the verdict. His utterance in the *Times* of September 9, 1910, is quoted by Sir Roper, and contains these sentences :

"No measure has done greater injury to the cause of Free Trade in India or more permanent discredit to British rule than this excise duty on Indian manufactured cotton, for none has done more to undermine Indian faith in the principles of justice upon which British rule claims, and, on the whole, most legitimately claims, to be based. . . . Rightly or wrongly, every Indian believes that the excise duty was imposed upon India for the selfish benefit of the British cotton manufacturer and under the pressure of British party politics. He believes, as was once sarcastically remarked by an Indian member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, that so long as Lancashire sends sixty Members to Westminster the British Government will always have sixty reasons for maintaining the excise duty."

The author tells us, in addition, that the character of the excise is "peculiarly odious and irritating," and that the "outside interference by Government servants is universally declared to be intolerable."

Having now glanced at the existing state of things under a "Free Trade" régime in India, as described here and there in "The Indian Offer of Imperial Preference," it may be well to summarize the contents of the book seriatim. Chapter I. describes the "Offer" and what led up to it—a deeply interesting subject. The offer is inseparably

connected with the recent grant to India of increased representation in governing the country, and was made, on March 17, 1913, "by the mouth of the accredited leaders of her newly elected representatives in the Governor General's Legislative Council." By it "the whole aspect of the Indian fiscal problem has been altered," in that instead of a negligible clamour for wholesale protection—against English as much as foreign manufactures—a statesman-like offer was for the first time made by responsible Indian legislators to join in "a system of Preferential Tariffs with the United Kingdom and the Colonies," as the resolution before the council expressed it. The mover of "this immensely important resolution" made an extraordinarily able speech in its favour, and, significantly enough, he (Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis) "was warmly supported by every Indian speaker without exception" in the debate. Sir Gangadhar spoke with dignity, remarking :

"India has so far not been admitted, so to speak, to the confederacy, but in any rational scheme of preference she cannot be ignored. It behoves us now to claim our legitimate place. In this matter, at least, I hope ours will not be a cry in the wilderness."

He—

"put his rooted objection to the Cobdenite fiscal system that is now tyrannically forced on his country in one remarkably pregnant sentence: 'We are not only not allowed by England to protect ourselves against her—which is intelligible perhaps—but we are not allowed to protect ourselves against foreign countries.'"

Chapter II. treats of "the existing fiscal system and its critics." The opinions of Indian leaders are quoted, solid against that system; and the opinions are also given of both

British Cobdenites and British Tariff Reformers, and the author says of it that—

"it effectually strangles every nascent Indian industry, while it enhances the cost of the clothing of even the poorest."

Chapter III. is headed, "India as a Pivot of Imperial Preference," and is highly instructive. We are reminded that, except the United Kingdom, India

"is at the present moment, commercially and industrially by far the most important constituent State of the Empire. And as her exports consist almost entirely of food and raw materials for manufactures, and as her imports are very largely manufactured goods, her trade is coveted by every commercial nation on earth."

India is also "by a long way the largest employer of British labour in the world," she having in 1911 purchased from this country imports worth £52,000,000 against only £39,000,000 from Germany (Blue Book, Cd. 6336). In short, of India and the United Kingdom, Sir Roper Lethbridge forcibly points out :

"What the one most needs the other can best supply. Together, they constitute an absolutely self-contained and self-sufficing commercial and industrial unit; and if Free Trade be established within its limits, as Mr. Bonar Law has suggested, it will be by far the largest, richest, and most populous Free Trade area on earth."

Moreover, the success of the recent preferential arrangement, permitted by a "Free Trade" Government, between Canada and the British West Indies, is claimed by Sir Roper as proving how the whole Empire would profit from India's joining in an imperial combination.

Chapter IV. answers "Objections to Indian Preference,"

and that in a convincing manner. These objections are broadly stated, as follows :

" It is alleged, first, that Indian Preference will not satisfy the Indian peoples, because it will only protect their industries against foreign dumping, and not against British trade. It is also alleged, secondly, that it will not greatly benefit Indian industry or commerce, because of this British competition. And it is further alleged, thirdly, that it may provoke retaliation from those foreign nations who are India's best customers."

The first is answered by the "Offer" of March 17 last. The second is demolished in a few particularly illuminating pages which should be read *in extenso* for their proper appreciation. As to the third objection, retaliation by non-British countries if India is allowed to protect herself against their competition, it is easily disposed of. Those countries practically take from India only raw materials for their factories, and some food products, so that—

"there is not one that could by any possibility attempt to retaliate on India, except at the gravest peril to its own industries ; and there is not a single one that is in the least likely to attempt the impossible task."

Further, not only Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis (in the famous council debate), but two finance ministers of India, Sir E. F. Law and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, were satisfied that there is no serious danger of retaliation—another Cobdenite bogey laid low.

In Chapter V. we have the actual "Scheme of Indian Preference, with Precedents." The two precedents are the Canada-West Indies Agreement and the U.S.A.-Philippine Islands Tariff Act of 1909, both of which are most encouraging for the advocates of Indian preference. It so happens that the former points a moral for India in respect of sugar production, and the latter in respect of jute, or its

equivalent, Manila hemp. The preference given in import duty has greatly increased the use of West Indian sugar in Canada, while that given in export duty from the Philippine Islands to the U.S.A. has given Americans a thriving trade in cordage, etc. Jute being not only an enormous industry, but a monopoly of India (in fact, Bengal), no wonder an Indian Member of Council, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, in 1910, recommended an export duty on raw jute, as did also the Bengali National Chamber of Commerce; and Sir Roper Lethbridge says:

"It may, then, I think, be taken for granted that this export duty on raw jute suggested by Mr. Gokhale and the Bengal National Chamber will be an important feature of any scheme of Imperial Preference."

(The present writer, in an article on the "Curse of Cobden," published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of July 11, 1907, recommended an export duty both on jute and oil seeds exported to non-British countries.)

This important chapter cannot be condensed in the space allowed here, and it is well worth careful perusal. One extract each, on cotton and on sugar, must suffice.

"Similarly, an import duty on foreign cotton goods will give the Indian industry a fair field in the competition with those coarse cotton goods which are now dumped on her as the surplusage of such protected countries as Japan and Germany; while the relation of her industry to the British cotton industry will be practically unchanged, both being then untaxed, as both are equally taxed at present. The change will enable India to recover her lost ground in Japan and China, while both the Lancashire and the Indian industries will have a fairer chance in competing with the protected foreigner in the Indian market."

"It (the sugar industry) would revivify the whole agricultural life of the country, and secure the Government's land and canal revenue."

Chapter VI. has special reference to the effects of Indian preference on industries in the United Kingdom, dealing in some detail with Lancashire (cotton), Dundee (jute), and Yorkshire (woollen goods). The question is here asked : " Why should Belgium and Germany send to India about eight times the amount of steel-bars that we send ? " The answer in this and many other cases is " Cobdenism," and the remedy confidently offered is Preference. Moreover—

" we shall have the further satisfaction of observing, as the Americans have seen in the Philippines, that Preference is always doubly blessed : the benefit to Indian industry will be as great as to British industry."

Chapter VII., the longest chapter in the book, deals specially with the value of Preference to India herself, and demonstrates that the value will be great, indeed : " Imperial Preference will immediately usher in a new era of industrial expansion and prosperity for India." Among the many good results, it will cheapen the cotton clothing of the people ; it will insure for India better terms from foreign countries for her commerce ; by increasing her manufactured exports, it will improve her finance, India being now a debtor country, chiefly to the United Kingdom ; and by encouraging irrigation for wheat-lands, now untilled, it would, as ably contended by the late Sir Charles Elliott, author of the first " Indian Famine Commission's Report," provide an excellent preventive against future famines in India.

The concluding Chapter, VIII., touches on " Indian Dignity " in relation to Imperial Preference, " sentimental considerations, but of infinite importance where national self-respect is concerned," as the author very justly observes. Sir Roper Lethbridge does well to end on this " moral " note, and the " grand Imperial patriotism " displayed in Council by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis is calculated to stir our nobler sentiments with regard to the blot on our administration, condemned by Sir Valentine Chirol (and

by every unbiassed Briton), the tyrannical cotton excise duty. It is somewhat humiliating to our national pride to reflect on the three actions of (1) the abolition of slavery, nobly done by our ancestors at the national expense, to be followed in these later days by (2) the surrender of India's opium trade, "in order to satisfy British righteousness at the cost of Indian revenue" (Lord Morley, in the House of Commons); and (3) the obstinate refusal so far to satisfy British righteousness by abolishing the cotton duty at any cost. And yet history, as well as Holy Writ, tells us that righteousness exalteth a nation, the converse of which must be equally true!

The brilliant speech of Sir Gangadhar, and the non-committal reply of the Finance Minister, at the Preference debate should be read (in the Appendix) by every student of fiscal reform or of British politics, for they are both crammed full of useful information.

Sir Roper Lethbridge's book has been criticized by the High Priest of Indian Cobdenism, who, as Finance Minister of India, forced free imports upon her against Indian opinion, Lord Cromer, in the only Unionist "Free Trade" paper of to-day, the *Spectator* of July 19, 1913, an editorial note significantly declining to allow a general discussion on the subject! The criticism is mild and strangely ineffective. Lord Cromer, like the Finance Minister, attaches no weight to the Retaliation bogey, once such a mighty Cobdenite argument. He admits the strong desire among educated Indians for a protective tariff, and the impossibility of henceforth ignoring it. He also entirely agrees with Sir Roper that the cotton import and excise duties should cease (without, in his opinion, any British preference as to the import duty). Where he differs from Sir Roper is in holding that "industries cannot be encouraged by a protective tariff without raising home prices." Even if this general ruling were true, it would in this case be irrelevant, at least, as regards the necessities of the Indian masses, whose sole imported necessary is cotton clothing, which, by

the proposed preference scheme, should be cheaper and not dearer. The general ruling, however, is proved by experience in other countries to be contrary to fact—if import duties are carefully imposed, so as not to reduce the supply, the price not only is not raised, but very frequently falls, owing, of course, to production on a large scale costing less than on a small scale. Lord Cromer's concluding words are very remarkable, because they seem unmistakably to prove that so leading a Cobdenite is unable to see the difference between a "tax" on a non-competing import, like tea, in England, and a "duty" on a competitive import, like cotton cloth. For he sneeringly speaks of a protective tariff as "*the ignis fatuus* involved in the idea that it is possible for a nation to impose a tax on itself, and then make the inhabitants of another country pay for it." Now, if this means anything, it must mean that when we put a tax on Indian or China tea, we expect Indians or Chinese to pay it for us. But we don't! We expect, and we promptly get, a notice from our grocer that, the tax on tea having been raised twopence, the price of all his teas will be raised twopence until the tax is reduced. But, if we were to put a moderate duty on imported cotton cloth, we certainly should expect the inhabitants of Germany or elsewhere to pay toll on what they sent to our market, and we should not even ask, much less expect, Englishmen to pay any duty on what was produced at home. The *ignis fatuus* seems to be a Cobdenite possession!

Sir Roper Lethbridge is much to be congratulated on having so promptly, and so effectively, brought to public notice in this country the great step towards Imperial Federation taken by leaders of Indian opinion by their "offer" of Indian preference.

APHORISMS OF THE FIRST FOUR CALIPHS,
OR SUCCESSORS OF MUHAMMAD.

COMPILED AND TRANSLATED BY THE LATE DR. WORTABET.

(Continued from p. 318, April, 1913.)

Miscellaneous.

The greatest restraint to sin is fear of its consequences.

The most effectual sermon is whatever restrains men from evil.

Hope in God alone, and fear nothing but sin.

He who tries to deceive God deceives himself.

He who oppresses an orphan will have undutiful children.

He who begins a quarrel helps his adversary.

He who exhorts you should ever be your close friend.

He who is sorry for his sin has repented from it.

He who yields to the evil impulses of his soul is a suicide.

He who follows the advice of a wise man prospers, and he who wilfully carries out his own notion ruins himself.

He who is a slave to habits never rises high.

These three things are ruinous to man—self-conceit, avarice, and violent passion.

The signs of retrogression are these four things—bad management, wild extravagance, negligence, and much self-deception.

The day of account to the oppressor is much more wrathful than the day of evil to the oppressed.

Ever help the oppressed, and contend against the oppressor.

Everything in this world is greater when you hear of it than when you see it.

The violence of passion ends in certain ruin.

You reproach a thing when it worries you.

Leave a self-deluded man to his self-delusion.

One fault is too much, and a thousand virtues are too little.

The best of women is she who is loving and child-bearing.

Let your visits to a man be so long as he honours you.

Care for your old father, and your son will care for you.

The highest justice is justice to oneself.

In changes of fortune men are known what they are.

The man who gives up himself to his passion has a diseased heart and mind.

Faulty men love to proclaim the faults of others, in order that they may find some excuse for their own faults.

The ignorance of the counsellor is a ruin to him who follows his advice.

A dignified bearing is a great beauty in man.

Beauty of the face is the first part of good luck.

The best commander is he who best commands himself.

Five men are to be despised—he who unasked intrudes between two contending parties; he who sits in a company for which he is not fit; he who orders the master of the house where he is a guest; he who sits at a table to which he has not been invited; and he who speaks to men who take no notice of what he says.

Shun that which does not concern you, and occupy yourself with your own concerns.

Continuous dissension is a great misfortune.

Continuous tyranny brings on vengeance.

To a hypocrite who flattered him he said, "I am beneath what you say of me, and above what you think."

When a man is well pleased with himself, many are ill-pleased with him.

He who goes too far in a quarrel does wrong, and he who goes not far enough is unjust to himself.

He who regards himself, disregards his evil passions.

The only price for your soul is paradise ; sell it not for anything else.

He who exaggerates small evils will be punished by God with greater evils.

The best country for you is that which takes you up.

If a man has one fine trait, look out in him for its like.

Man can only put forth the efforts of one who is impotent.

A self-inflated man may possibly find some who will speak well of him.

The heart is a book in which is written that which the eye sees.

What has the son of man to do with boasting ? He begins life as a helpless infant, and ends as a loathsome corpse.

The world is a vain thing in which God finds no adequate reward to his friends or punishment to his enemies.

This world is like a company of travellers who hardly dismount for the night when the crier calls them to rise and depart.

Truth ever strikes down him who contends with it.

Pity is the first of all good traits.

How pleasing in the sight of God is the humble bearing of the rich towards the poor ! But more pleasing is the proud bearing of the poor, who depend on God, towards the rich.

That to which a man limits himself is enough for him.

Fortune has two days, one for and one against you ; if it be for you exult not, and if it be against you grieve not.

He who strives for a thing will obtain either the whole or a part of it.

A good man bears his cheerfulness on his face and conceals his grief in his heart.

The ignorant who learns is like a learned man, and the learned who acts without consideration is like an ignorant man.

Men are the children of the world, and no one can be blamed for loving his mother.

Your messenger is the interpreter of your mind, and what you write is the most eloquent expression of what may be said of you.

Fortune comes to him who does not seek it.

Vain hopes blind the eyes of the wise.

No commerce so profitable as in good deeds, no gain like the rewards of heaven, no possession like prosperity, no pedigree like humility, no honour like learning, no purity like abstention from evil thoughts of others, no wisdom like good management, no seclusion so bad as self-conceit.

Shun extravagance, be frugal ; in to-day remember to-morrow.

The worst governor is he whom the innocent fear.

The necessity of circumstances bends down the necks of men.

Put down your pride, and remember the grave unto which you must go.

Slight nothing until you shall have well considered it.

Contend not with a man whom you cannot repel.

Deal not with a man whom you cannot force to do you justice.

Decide not when you are in doubt.

Shut not a door which you cannot afterwards open.

Consult not your enemy, and conceal from him your good fortune.

Slight not your enemy though he be weak.

Exert not yourself overmuch beyond what you need.

Occupy yourself not with what concerns you not.

Jest not with one whose rank is high lest he bear malice against you.

Assault not an enemy before you have enough power to do so.

He who claims more than his rights, and he who violates the rights of others, are both doomed to fail.

He who knoweth not his proper place in life is on the way to ruin.

He who speaks evil of himself is an unhappy man.

Your evil passions are more inimical to you than your bitterest enemy, overcome them or they will destroy you.

Self-conceit is an index of folly.

Self-conceit ends in destruction.

Prudence leads to gain, carelessness to loss.

To rise high in virtue is difficult, to fall low in vice is easy.

To grieve over the past is a waste of time.

Community in rule leads to confusion, in views to what is wise and right.

When a wise man is silent he thinks, when he speaks he remembers, and when he looks on he learns.

Beware of rashness, for it means missed opportunities and much regret.

Never praise a man whose life justifies no commendation.

A fountain of sweet waters is always crowded.

A man attains his highest earthly good when he is independent on others.

To flee from your passions is of more value than to flee from a lion.

The guilt of a man who flaunts an act of charity is greater than any reward which he may deserve.

A slanderer makes in one hour the mischief of many months.

The faithful guardian of a child will not come to want.

No want to the prudent, no honour to the liar, no rest to the envious, no anxiety to the contented, no esteem to the worthless rich.

He who accompanies a fortunate man will himself become fortunate.

He wins who comes off safely.

He wins who escapes from his own evil deeds.

Men are enemies to things of which they are ignorant.

To trust in this world, after you have known it, is ignorance ; to fall short in good deeds, when you believe in good rewards for them, is folly ; to confide in a man before you have tried him is weakness ; and stinginess comprises all evil traits of character.

It is folly to exert oneself before a possibility presents itself, or to deliberate after an opportunity has passed away.

He on whom God has bestowed many favours will be sought by men whose needs are many.

He who looks into the faults of others and condemns them while he approves of them in himself is truly void of all reason.

Abstinence is the grace of poverty, and thankfulness is the grace of riches.

It is better not to give than to flaunt your gift.

THE "FAUJI AKHBÁR," OR ARMY
NEWSPAPER OF INDIA.

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

THE liberty of the Press is a two-edged weapon. When Counts Brandt and Struensee freed the Press in Denmark in the eighteenth century, its organs were bought up by the reactionaries, who were their political opponents, and the unfortunate reformers were hoist with their own petard. The Press campaign of calumny and slander carried on against them with unrelenting activity had a great share in fomenting the counter-revolution which brought Brandt and Struensee to the scaffold. We have gone through something of the same experience in India, where the unrestricted freedom of the Press has been taken advantage of by unprincipled agitators to foment sedition and to discredit the Government and its officials in the eyes of the ignorant masses of the population. It was probably, in the first instance, the circulation of irresponsible and seditious journals in the lines of our native Indian regiments that suggested to the military authorities the establishment of a semi-official newspaper which should provide our Indian officers and soldiers with healthy literature and reliable information. The result is seen in the *Fauji Akhbár*, or *Army News*, which is published simultaneously in Urdu, Hindi, and Gurumukhi, three of the most widely current vernacular languages of our Indian Army, and of which the Urdu or Hindustani edition is published weekly at

Lahore, at the moderate price of a halfpenny a copy, and at reduced rates of subscription for long periods. The paper resembles in shape and size our *World*, or *Pall Mall Gazette*, and contains on an average twenty closely printed pages of matter in the Urdu language, lithographed in the Persian character, and one or two in Romanized Urdu. It has a title-page, on which is represented a trophy of flags and weapons, surmounted by the Imperial crown over the title and the list of contents; and the battle-honours emblazoned on the standards and colours of our Indian regiments are enumerated in the margin in a list of alphabetical sequence.

This list rather reminds us of a list of one hundred different languages in which the Bible is printed, issued by the Bible Society, in which Urdu, Hindustani, and Romanized Urdu were all given as separate languages; for here we have Cabool and Kabul, Candahar and Kandahar, but the difference in orthography is probably caused by the campaigns commemorated having been conducted before and after the Hunterian system of spelling was adopted by the Government of India.

Macaulay observed that a German could not be expected to take much pride in the fact that Pomeranians had slaughtered Moravians, and that Saxon banners had been hung in the churches of Berlin; and, of the eighty battle-honours contained in this list, nearly one-half have been obtained at the expense of the nations and races whose scions serve in our Indian Army. We beat the Mahrattas at Kirkee, the Jats at Bhurtpore, the Sikhs at Sobraon, the Musalmans of Mysore at Sholinghur and Seringapatam; but in the old fighting days the mercenary soldier of India cared little for the cause he fought for, and knew nothing of patriotism or of allegiance: he was loyal to the flag he served under, and faithful to the salt he ate. When the Tiger of Mysore fell in the breach at Seringapatam, his soldiers cheerfully transferred their services to the ranks of their conquerors, and the songs they sung under the banner

of the Crescent have been orally handed down to their descendants in the Madras Army to this day.

"Chakri Pagri, babri Kurta, Kándhé par Bandok liya
 Hanste hanste Pán Khá, Kalikot ka Saira kiya
 'Áge áge bárwálé,* pichche pichche 'Troop' wálé
 In donon lám ke bich men ek Dín ka Sultán rahé
 Kyá Farangi, kyá Marhatta, kya Nizám ul Mulk Karé
 Is Hindustán ke Mulk men ek Dín ka Sultán rahé."

Which may be translated :

"With muskets sloped and jackets striped, on head the turban round,
 Laughing, chaffing, chewing pawn, we marched to Calicut town ;
 The barbéd horsemen in the rear,† the musketeers before,
 Between these lines the Sultan rides, the Lord of Islam's war ;
 Not Farangi nor Mahratta nor Nizam ul Mulk can stand
 When the Sultan of the Faith rides forth in the Hindustani land."

The occurrence of the English word "troop" in the above verse may raise a suspicion as to the alleged antiquity of the ballad ; but European military terms were very early adopted by the natives of India, and in the middle of the eighteenth century we find Ibrahim Khan Gardi, so called from his having commanded the body-guard of M. Bussy at Hyderabad. "Paltan," from "battalion," is a familiar instance.

The word "Fauj" is used in India for an "army" in a general sense ; it has no numerical or tactical limitations, while in Persia it is the technical term for a battalion. The Deputy-Governors under the Moghal Viceroys were officially styled Faujdars (Army Chiefs), for in the Moghal, as in the Ottoman Empire, the civil administration was subordinate to, and was included in, the military. It was only by courtesy that these Faujdars were addressed by the honorary title of Nawab, which became in course of time their familiar appellation. But the minor formations of the Indian Army are naturally expressed in English terms,

* Bárwálé—*i.e.*, paid men, soldati. The infantry Sepoys of the Mysore State are still called "The Bar."

† "The barbéd horsemen in the rear"—that's a line that I've stolen from Sir Walter Scott, I fear.

for a Regular Army was raised from the natives of Hindustan before such an institution was established in any other Oriental nation (if we except the corps of Janissaries in the Ottoman Empire). Hence in the Urdu text of the *Fauji Akhbár* we read of "Rajmaton, Brigédon, Divizanon, aur Armi Koron." Curiously, the word Urdu itself signifies an army, and still signifies it in Turkish military nomenclature, while Kol Ordu is Turkish for Army Corps. The Urdu Zabán, or army language, was formed by a mixture of the Persian, spoken in the camps of the northern invaders, with the Hindi speech of the conquered Hindus. It has become the recognized language of the Musalmans of India, and, true to its origin, has always done duty as the Lingua Franca of the Indian Army and the medium of communication between the British officer and the soldiers of the divers and various races of which that army is composed, though many of them are as ignorant of it as are the officers themselves. This jargon of Persian and Hindi is now in course of being further enriched by the wholesale incorporation of English words. Not only military terms and phrases, but a most miscellaneous vocabulary is being manufactured, many of the English terms being used in a sense quite other than their original one. Thus we come across a paragraph headed "Tikkat-i-jadid," which being translated means "A New Postage Stamp," made up of the English word ticket, and the Arabic word Jadíd (new). The first Turkish troops raised on the European model went by the name of the Nizám Jadíd, or New Regulars.

The English word "agitation" is embedded in an Urdu paragraph in the form of "ajiteshan." English terms are sometimes transliterated and sometimes translated without apparent rule or reason, and we find in the same paragraph the "Hawas áf Káminz" (House of Commons), and the "Naib Wazir-i Hind" (Under-Secretary of State for India).

But the writer probably discriminates between those terms which he expects will be readily understood by his countrymen and those which require explanation. The back of

the cover corresponding to the title-page in front is in each number taken up with a map of the world, indifferently executed, and the names on which are so badly printed as to be in many cases undecipherable. The names are in most instances taken from a European geography, the only exceptions being that of Yúnán (Ionia) for Greece, Mamlíkat-i Rúm for Asiatic Turkey, and Bahíra-i Rúm (the Lake of Rome) for the Mediterranean Sea. Islam, of course, has its own geographies. The Arabic cosmographers and geographers were numerous and famous in the palmy days of the Caliphate ; but they dealt chiefly with the lands of Islam, and knew little and cared less for the infidel world beyond the pale. What knowledge they had of it was derived from the Greeks, whose sciences they imitated and strove to assimilate ; and in this map we find the Pacific Ocean written down as the Bahr-i Oqiánús (the ocean sea), from the Greek Okianos. The name of Andalús is familiar in Moslem literature as that of a once famous kingdom of Islam ; but it is here printed Spén (Spain). The Turks and Persians call Germany by the name of Alamán, and Austria Nemsá (from the Slavonic Niemche) ; here they are written as Jarmani and Ástria. The name of Britannia occurs in the Arabic cosmography of Al Ma'súdi who wrote it in the tenth century of our era, and the *Fauji Akhbár* flatteringly translates Great Britain by Britannia-i Á'zam, or Britain the Great, making her greatness political or moral, instead of material. "Great" is used in connection with Britain simply in a geographical sense, to distinguish our island from Little Britain, which is Brittany in France. So Great Britain might have been more correctly translated by Britannia al Kabir. However, we cannot quarrel with the Editor for employing an epithet which befits the fame and fortune of our seat of Empire. A similar instance of mistranslation occurs in a paragraph regarding the possible intervention of a European Power in the dispute between "Turki wa Itli" (Turkey and Italy) over Tripoli. "A European Power" is translated by

"Farangi Táqat." Táqat does mean power, but power in the sense of strength or ability, not in the sense of a State or Government, as we often use it. "Daulat" or "Riásat" would have given the sense better here.

The inside pages of the wrapper are the only two out of the twenty of which the number consists that are devoted to advertisements. Here the most obtrusive are those of Lipton ki Chái (Lipton's Tea) and Liaind Perins Sás ya'ne ek qism ki Chatni (Lea and Perrin's Sauce—that is, a kind of chutney), which we are informed increases hunger and gives fresh life to its consumer.

Advertising is probably even more successful in the East than in the West, for the unsophisticated Oriental habitually believes everything that he sees in print; and there were Urdu newspapers in India that were run entirely on the strength of the subsidy they received for advertising the merits of the Hubúb-i Hálwé (Holloway's Pills). The extraordinary admixture of English and Urdu in these advertisements makes the deciphering of them a matter of some difficulty. Queen Mary's Own Baluchistan Light Infantry advertise for a Musalman orderly-room clerk; the First Battalion Fourth Gurkhas wants a schoolmaster; and the Naga Hills Military Police are in need of a bandmaster, on the principle, we suppose, that music hath charms to soothe the savage breast. Some regiments advertise for farriers, and some for musicians. There are advertisements of patent soaps, patent medicines, and photographic materials, as well as of books, among them a manual of "Kambatant Trening" (Combatant Training?), by Kaptan Ji Yech Yaf Kili (Captain G. H. F. Keeley?), highly recommended by Munshi Rai Gulab Singh, the proprietor of the Mufid-i Ám (*General Benefit*) Press, Lahore, where the *Fauji Akhbár* is published, though the Editor resides at Simla, and is doubtless connected with the army headquarters.

The title-page gives a list of contents in English and Urdu, which is always the same bill of fare. News of the world in brief, a leading article on some topic of general

interest, Letters from Correspondents, Answers to the same, Miscellaneous Notes, the Military World (*Fauji Duniya?*), News and Notes, Latest Telegrams; and the number ends with another leading article in parallel columns printed in Persian and in Roman type. Probably the authorities hope in the long run to familiarize the military races of Hindustan with the Roman alphabet, so that they may be able to get rid of the awkward Arabic or Persian alphabetic script altogether. This alphabet has no vowels, no punctuation, no capital letters; it has never been satisfactorily accommodated to the printing press, and its limitations have contributed in a very large measure to the comparative backwardness of the Moslem world, which has never been able to profit by the invention which gave such an extraordinary stimulus to the development of science and industry in the Western world.

Taking half a dozen consecutive weekly numbers, we find that the subjects of the leading articles are as follows: Famous Thrones of Indian Kings, Entertainment, Speech, Parents' Affections and Rights, Dress, and Health. They are didactic treatises on moral or historical themes, prefaced by the pious invocations of the Almighty Deity usual in the compositions of Musalman authors. The famous thrones of Indian Kings include the Peacock Throne of Delhi, the Cerulean Throne of Gulburga, the Lion Throne of Tippu Sultan of Mysore, and the throne made for Hyder Shah, the ruler of Oudh, when he was granted the title of King by the East India Company. This last disappeared during the Mutiny, but the writer of the article says that the Lion Throne of Tippu Sultan was sent to London by his conquerors, that it is still preserved there, and that it was used by Sultan Abdul Aziz of Turkey on his visit to England. We do not know of the existence of such a throne in London or elsewhere. Perhaps the writer of the article is thinking of the throne of the Sikh Maharajah Ranjit Singh, the Lion of Lahore, which is now in the India Museum at South Kensington.

After the leading article come the Letters to the Editor, commencing "Janáb Aiditar Sáhib Taslím" (Salutations to His Excellency the Editor): one on "Promotion in the Indian Army," by Risaldar Major Nazír Ali Khan Bahádúr, late Poonah Horse; another on the "Payment of Military Pensions through the Post-Office," by a well-wisher of the Army Pensioners; another ventilates the grievances of Army Schoolmasters and Clerks. All appeal to the Sirkar-i Áliya (Supreme Government) to remedy whatever needs remedying in this noble and popular service, as indicated by the writers. The Editor sometimes appends a note, soothing or rebuking the complainant. One correspondent asks the Editor's advice as to equipment for the journey to East Africa; another wants to know whether, when he leaves his regiment, he may lawfully take with him the weapons of war which are his "paraiwat" (private) property.

The confusion of tongues is bewildering. Such words as "Pinshin-yábi," compounded of the English word "pension" and the Persian word "Yábi" (obtaining), occur in every paragraph. The English word "command" appears with a Persian plural affix as "Kommandhá," while the plural of "Panjábi" is not given as "Panjábiyá," but in the English form of "Panjabíz."

When Albert Edward Prince of Wales visited India in 1886 there arose a fierce controversy in the Urdu Press as to whether Wales should be transliterated as spelt, "Wéls," or as pronounced, "Wélz." Much ink was shed and much sarcastic and even vituperative language was used by rival editors and their correspondents over this trifling difference; but we observe that phonography has got the better of orthography, and that "z" is now generally used in Urdu to express the sound of the English final "s."

The letter "v" is another stumbling-block in the way of transliterations from the English. Like the French, the Persians and Indians cannot pronounce the sound of "v," while, on the other hand, the Turks cannot pronounce "w," but always give it the sound of "v" in the Persian and Arabic

words which they have adopted into their language. Hence the alternative renderings of Wazír and Vazír, Mahmúd Shaukat and Mahmúd Shevket, Wálida and Válide, and so on. The English "v" is awkwardly represented in Urdu by *Wao*, as in *Khediw* for *Khedive*, and we find here recorded in the army newspaper the proceedings of the "Impíryal Lejisletiw Kaunsil."

It is noteworthy that in this semi-official organ the King is seldom alluded to by his Indian title of Emperor, but is usually called the Malik-i Mu'azim, or Great King; and the Queen is the Malika-i Mu'azima. The title of Qaisar was adopted by Lord Beaconsfield under the impression that it was an Oriental equivalent for Emperor; but in fact it is only used by Oriental and Muhammadan writers to designate one potentate, the Khán of the tribe of the Osmanlis, who first became the Sultan of the Turkish nation, and then, when he succeeded to the throne of the Eastern Roman Empire, became *ipso facto* the Qaisar-i Rúm, or Cæsar of Rome. The title is occasionally used in Musalman literature in an extended sense, as in the peroration to the Akhláq-i Jaláli, where the author speaks of the mighty conquerors and monarchs of the world as *Qaiásará wa Akásira* (Cæsars and Chosroes); and we have heard an Arab evangelist at Cairo, preaching on the *Iklíl al Hai*, or Crown of Life, extol it above the crowns of "Imparátora wa Qaiásará" (Emperors and Cæsars). But in a particular sense the title is confined to the occupant of the throne of Constantinople. The word is unknown in India, except to educated Musalmans, and it has never caught the ear of the people. Indian journalists usually translate the word Emperor by Shahinshah, which is also an incorrect rendering, for Shahinshah is a title peculiar to the monarchs of Irán, as Qaisar is to the rulers of Rúm. Padishah is the common word for Emperor in most of the languages of Musalman peoples, and the Emperors of the Pathan and Mughal dynasties who ruled at Delhi were always styled Padishah. Until 1833 all the coin struck in the mints of

British India was struck in the name of these Sovereigns ; and the superscription on the gold mohurs and rupees issued by the Honourable East India Company ran as follows :

"Sikka zad bar haft Kishwar Saiya-i Fazl-i Allah,
Hámi-i Dín-i Muhammad, Sháh-i 'Álam Pádísháh."

which may be freely translated by

" This coin was struck in the seven Climes by the Shadow of Alláh,
The Defender of Muhammad's Faith the Emperor 'Álam Sháh."

The Turkish and Egyptian soldiers on the ceremonial parades which are held on the birthdays of the Sultan and the Khedive shout "Padishah chok yasha!" (Long live the Emperor!), meaning the Sultan of Turkey; for the Egyptians, as well as the Moors of Algiers and Tunis still consider the Sultan as their lawful Sovereign, not because he claims to be the Khalifa of Islam, but because their countries were once provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and to them are so still, the French and English occupations being regarded as mere temporary interruptions. Our Indian soldiers also cheer for King George as the Padishah, and do not recognize him under the title of Qaisar. In the few instances, however, in which King George is alluded to as Emperor in the pages of the *Fauji Akhbár* the title is translated by Shahinshah. The Persian, Turkish, and Arabic journals generally speak of European Emperors as Imperator, and call their Empresses Imperatrís, but these terms have not found their way into the Indian vernacular Press.

The war in the Balkans naturally excited the keenest interest among the Musalmans of Hindustan, and the accounts of it occupy a considerable space in the *Fauji Akhbár*.

The Hindu peoples generally confine their political interests and activities within the confines of their own land, and take little heed of what is passing in the rest

of the world. The learned Vazir of the Emperor Akbar, Abul Fazl, indeed, surmised that India must comprise three-fourths of the whole world, since it was surrounded on three of its sides by the encircling ocean.

The Musalman population, however, takes a keen interest in foreign politics, and watches closely the events which affect the status and the fortunes of their co-religionists in all parts of the world. Here, again, we find them wholly depending for their information on English sources, and transliterating Turkish place-names from English journals, writing Adrianopal for Adrana, Saqútari for Isqúdara, and Arminia for Arman. Occasionally a Turkish or Arabic geographical term is employed, as Qahira for Cairo, and Tarábulús for Tripoli; but Maghrab-al Aksa (the Far West) is called Marakko, after the English Morocco. We read of prayers being offered up in the Mosques of India for the success of the Turkish arms, and of thanksgivings rendered after the conclusion of evening prayers in the Jama Masjid at Delhi upon the report of a Turkish victory.

Fifty years ago the Indian Moslems generally held the opinion that the Sultan of Rúm was the greatest potentate on earth, and that the French and English rendered him the assistance of vassal States in his war against the Russians.

Tippoo Sultan sent an embassy to Constantinople to solicit his aid against the English, which arrived at the inauspicious moment when Sultan Selim was seeking the aid of England to expel the French from Egypt. The spread of knowledge has dispelled these pleasing illusions, but, if the Sultan is not the greatest monarch in the world, he is still the greatest in Islam, and claims to be the modern representative of the Arabian Khalifas, the successors of the Prophet.

We learn here that on the tenth of the month of Farwari (February) the appearance of the planet Zohra (Venus) within the horns of the crescent moon gave great joy to

the Moslems in India, who saw in this representation of the device on the banner of Islam in the sky an omen of victory to the armies of the True Believers. The reoccupation of Adrianople by the Turkish forces no doubt confirmed their sanguine anticipations of the significance of this heavenly portent.

One of the Roman-Urdu articles treats of the causes of the defeats of the Turkish armies in the recent war. This is a translation from a French source, and it is therefore not surprising to read that the Turkish failure was mainly due to the systems of training and organization introduced by German staff-officers. Another Roman-Urdu article treats of the field regulations and formations of the Bulgarian Infantry. In this Romanized Urdu we meet again the anomalies which puzzle us in the Persian text. The expression "firing line" is given as "fire lain." If "line" is printed "lain," why should not "fire" be printed "fair"? The names of the months, when they occur, are printed as in English—May, July, etc. But such anomalies are simply a matter of usage and custom. A long account of the history and topography of Delhi is translated from the columns of the *Pioneer*, and is continued through three numbers of the *Fauji Akhbár*. Here, again, the Emperors of Hindustan are spoken of by the title of Shahinshah, a title never used by any Musalman historian of India, unless it is to designate the Sovereign of Persia.

After all, these "terminological inexactitudes," to borrow a modern parliamentary phrase, do not matter much; the *Fauji Akhbár* is correct enough for all practical purposes, and its general matter, manner, and arrangement reflect the greatest credit on the Editor, the Manager, and the Publishers. We foresee for it a long and useful career, and wish it all the success that so admirable an undertaking deserves.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR."

ENGLISHMEN IN INDIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."

SIR,

I am tempted to address you on a subject of some delicacy, and of even greater importance, in the hope that readers of a Review which justly boasts its impartiality towards all shades of opinion will not misunderstand me. Let me begin by quoting extracts from two recent letters from India.

A young civilian, himself an enthusiastic student of the vernaculars, writes as follows :

The vernacular is sadly neglected by Europeans here. Government pays little attention to the matter, and seems to care nothing whether its officers know the local language or not. It was generally stated before the Public Services Commission that knowledge of the languages is decaying, and I am afraid that there is a great deal of truth in the criticism.

Readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* will not need to be told that ignorance of the vernacular is a fatal bar to real knowledge of the bulk of the Indian peoples, and without knowledge how shall we expect active and intelligent sympathy ?

Hear now what an Indian friend, an official of tried probity and high standing, writes :

The educated Indian is growing more bitter in proportion as the European in India grows more arrogant. I think you have lost touch with the India of to-day too completely to understand our feelings in this matter. A cold-weather trip to India would open your eyes to many things that are now hidden from you. You talk of the blessings of the Pax Britannica, of the successes of the British Rāj: who in his senses denies them? I don't, and you know my views on "swarāj" and my opinion of the "swarājists." But I and my kind are embittered, sometimes *very* embittered. Why should you mix up the two things, the blessings of the British Rāj and the hateful arrogance of the Britisher?

My correspondent goes on to quote a recent case where an Indian was forcibly compelled to get out of a lift in a public office because two Europeans wished to use it. That case led to legal proceedings, and need not be discussed here. But the complaint of arrogance is worth mentioning, because it is echoed by many of my Indian correspondents. Only the other day I advised a former assistant (an Indian) to apply for help in some merely literary question to one of the officials of his district. I was told in reply that young civilians are not accessible nowadays, and do not welcome Indian visitors.

It is possible that political crimes compel Europeans in India to take justifiable precautions, and that these may have led to greater isolation than was formerly practised. After all, militant tactics in England have in some degree affected the attitude of the sexes to one another in public life, and something of the same kind may have acted as a bar to social amenities in India. I would not have mentioned the matter if my correspondents were enthusiastic Nationalists or had any prejudice against Europeans as such. No doubt other circumstances come into play also. It cannot be doubted that India is not such a pleasant place for Europeans as it once was. Expenses have increased

enormously, and salaries remain fixed. Servants cost twice as much as they did thirty years ago. A pony, in a land where almost every European must ride, costs three or four times as much as the last generation used to pay. Pecuniary anxieties and worries are added to the other disabilities of exile. There is, it seems, a lack of the old confidence and friendship between Indians and those who are compelled to spend the best years of their lives in India. It is not for me to suggest remedies, or even to guess whether any remedies are at present possible. That is for the men on the spot to settle.

I do not mention the names of my correspondents. They would not write to me so frankly if they thought I would betray their confidence. Nor do I sign my own name, because I have no wish to be entangled in correspondence on a subject of which I have no longer any personal experience. It seems to me, however, that I am justified in calling public attention to a general impression among educated Indians, that Englishmen in India are more inaccessible, and, to use my Indian correspondent's phrase, more "arrogant," than was formerly the case. There may be misunderstanding on both sides. If so, in spite of obvious social and political impediments, it ought to be possible to arrive at a better understanding, in every sense of a hard-worked word.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
AN OLD PENSIONER.

September 1, 1913.

INDIA AND THE DARK CONTINENT.

BY AN ANGLO-INDIAN.

WHEN the chroniclers of the Empire come to deal with the present time, they will tell how, before it, we had acquired a reputation among Muhammadans for being the friends of Islam. So much was this the case, they will relate, that the highest Moslem authority had pronounced the lands under our flag to be "lands of peace," *i.e.*, which gave Islam no cause for offence; that the Musulmans of India had prayed in their mosques for the success of our armies against the Boers; that the same Musulmans had since, by their steadfast loyalty, deprived the machinations of the disaffected Hindoos of all chance of success; and that their co-religionists in other parts of our dominions, notably the Haussas of Africa, had furnished some of the most reliable of our soldiers. But what will they be able to write of the sequel?

We have just seen Sir Edward Grey do his best to destroy this good feeling and turn it into hatred. For the Muhammadans in India the Sultan of Turkey is the Caliph, or temporal head of their religion, for whom they offer up public prayers every Friday, much as is done on Sundays in this country for the Sovereign and the Royal Family. Their sympathies are all in his favour, and they regard the triumphs and the troubles of Turkey as their own. British politicians of note have usually refrained from acts of violent

partisanship against her, and, even when they have allowed their feelings to carry them to extremes, have in the main confined their attention to the redressing of abuses, true or false, and have thus really acted the part of friends rather than enemies. It has been left for Sir Edward Grey to make a direct attack upon Turkey, which, while in the result he set before himself it has proved a pitiable failure, has been highly successful in filling his Muhammadan fellow-subjects in India with pain and indignation. The facts can be summed up in a very few sentences. The war of the Balkan Allies against Turkey had been followed by peace negotiations, carried on in London. In the course of these the Foreign Secretary intervened to hasten an agreement, and the newspapers were soon full of such headlines as "Firm Attitude of Downing Street" and "Great Victory of Sir Edward Grey." Sir Edward was praised to the skies by the Press, and the compliments lavished upon him must have been very gratifying to his self esteem. Unfortunately, his much-extolled triumph was shortlived. The conquerors quarrelled over the spoils, and, ignoring the treaty they had just signed in London, embarked upon a fresh and sanguinary war. This gave Turkey the opportunity to reoccupy Adrianople, of which she had been bereft by force of arms. Now came Sir Edward Grey's wanton insult, for wholly wanton and unjustifiable it was. Instead of playing passively into the hands of Russia, as has so often been done before without exciting appreciable resentment among the Muhammadans in our domains, he must needs himself assume an aggressive attitude against Turkey, hurling various threats at her if she did not relinquish her claims to Adrianople. And what was his excuse? He could not very well bring forward the usual commonplaces about "atrocities," for this unfortunate word was one to be kept as much as possible out of sight just then, when his protégés, the quondam Allies, were busily engaged in accusing one another of excesses at least as barbarous as those with which they had formerly credited the Turk. He

could not, with any show of truth, make out that he was acting in the interests of the population concerned, for this population was clamouring to return under Ottoman rule. The pretext he did fasten upon was equally illogical and unjust. So long as the Balkan Allies chose to trample upon the treaty they had signed under his aegis, Sir Edward Grey took no steps to thwart them ; it was only when Turkey sought to recover part of what had belonged to her that he saw a crime in an act which he had allowed the others to commit with impunity. Then he placed himself in the forefront of her enemies, and put upon her every form of pressure to make her give up her claim to Adrianople. Turkey stood firm, however, and he has now had the mortification of seeing her ignore his threats and negotiate directly with Bulgaria, the Great Powers tacitly approving.

Thus the only harm done by him in Europe has been to his own prestige, but it remains to be seen whether he has not caused far greater evil elsewhere. We know that the Muhammadans of India have been deeply wounded by his action, and that, instead of holding aloof from Hindoo sedition, as they did before, they have already begun to show signs of making common cause with our Indian enemies. It is much easier to do such mischief than to repair it. Hence it seems highly problematical whether, now that Sir Edward Grey has aroused the spirit of disaffection in the Musulmans, the mere fact that he has been unsuccessful in his attempts to coerce the Turk will be sufficient to cause the adverse feeling created by him to die down. If, in spite of all, they return to their former attitude of staunch attachment to the Empire, so much the better for us ; but if they do not, and we have to reckon with their enmity when we are coping with a war or the prospect of a war, we shall sadly feel the want of such support as they gave us, without stint, during our conflict in South Africa, and during the more recent Hindoo troubles. Moreover, the activities of the Indian Muhammadans are not confined to the peninsula ; in one

capacity or another they are to be met with in many other parts of the Empire, and it may make a vast difference to us whether their influence with their co-religionists is employed for or against us.

Most particularly is this the case in Africa, where Islam, which is already in possession of many regions, is making rapid strides in others, among them the extreme South. The Indian is one of the most active causes of this expansion, and it is natural that the political views of his disciples should be coloured by his own. It is in his power, to a large extent, to make of them faithful subjects and admirers of Britain, or the reverse ; and upon this probably much more depends than is generally recognized. There is a kind of subconscious popular idea that the Africans, so far as they belong to the negro races, are inferior beings, incapable of ever becoming a factor in the world. We have been taught more than once that it is very dangerous to form such opinions. The Japanese have shown us, for instance, that a nation can rise in one generation from extreme backwardness to equality with the best-armed nations of Europe ; and China, of whom people used confidently to predict, only a few years ago, that her conservatism was far too deeply ingrained for her ever to change, is now in the throes of rebirth as a modern State. The day may come, and that sooner than we expect, when the African will also awake to the capabilities within him ; and, when he realizes his strength, it may be of vital importance to us that we should be able to direct it and enlist it on our side. The negro of Africa is not very articulate, and he is therefore relegated to the background in men's minds ; but it is only necessary to know a very little about him to recognize that he possesses some remarkable qualities. One of these is military capacity, shown in such things as a perfect system of mobilization, which would have annihilated the Coomassie Expedition if Wolseley had not heard of it in time to retreat out of harm's way. Another is reasoning power ; and you may hear an educated

negro comment upon the events of the day with a keenness and accuracy of insight, and with a wealth of common sense, that are truly astounding. The negro, in a word, is a force worth watching and worth directing into the proper channel; and as this direction is already, to an ever-increasing extent, in the hands of Islam, it is imperative that we should, for the sake of our position in Africa as well as in India, do our best, before it is too late, to minimize the dangerous effects of Sir Edward Grey's ill-considered and abortive outburst against Turkey. Possibly the course of events, and especially the resentment he has called forth in India, may have aroused him to a perception of the grievousness of the blunder he has committed; but if not, no stone should be left unturned to do so, and to save us from repetitions that might easily be fatal to the welfare of the Empire.

MORE FREAKS OF LEGALISM: THE MILLENNIUM OF MONTREAL.

By IGNOTUS.

SIGNS are not wanting that the legalism in which England, India, and America have wrapped themselves as with a garment is wearing thin in places. The weavers are conscious that the time has come for strenuous efforts in extolling the excellence of the fabric. Search as we may for the motive of the Lord Chancellor's mission to America, and his great oration at Montreal to the American Bar Association, we shall find nothing but an attempt to cover up defects by a display of assumed confidence; to cast a vague glamour over the origin of our legal outfit; to glorify its past so that we shall forget its present unfitness; and to glide over its grave delinquencies by making large professions of unctuous rectitude and pious aspirations.

The ostensible purpose of the mission, as revealed after it was over,* had the furtherance of the gospel of peace and the promotion of closer relations in the forefront of the programme; but, cordially as we sympathize with such a laudable object, we cannot conceal our astonishment at the method chosen to achieve it. Never have so many favouring circumstances and conditions been offering to aid in an

* The Chairman of Lord Haldane's Reception Committee is said to be authorized to announce that the speech contains "the declared policy of this country." What that policy is will be seen presently.

appeal for permanent peace. The tenets of a common religion, the ties of a kindred race, the inheritance of a common language and literature, the inter-dependence of financial, commercial, and social relations, might have been invoked jointly and severally as tending year by year to make a war between the Empire and the Republic more and more unthinkable.

When such a cloud of witnesses is ignored, or only casually mentioned, by a great advocate in the presentation of his case, when he prefers to rest it almost exclusively on the ground of a common legal system, we decline to discredit our exalted messenger's intelligence by attributing the choice to professional fatuity. We are driven to the conclusion that it was dictated by deliberate policy; that the glorification of our legal system, rather than the furtherance of the cause of peace, was the real object in view; and that the approval of His Most Gracious Majesty was artfully secured and extended to a peculiarly audacious piece of special pleading.

We go further, and affirm that stronger language is warranted in characterizing the conduct of an advocate who puts his caste before his cause, and gambles with the issue by staking it on unsound arguments when he had winning cards in his hand. Underlying the allocution of Montreal there is the gratuitous assumption that the common legal system of Empire and Republic, being an importation from this country, is an historical fact of supreme importance in the promotion of still closer relations between these two States. Let us examine this singular assumption.

No one denies the common inheritance of law. It is insisted upon in season and out of season by lawyers on both sides of the Atlantic with a wearisome iteration. But there are inheritances and inheritances. They are not always beneficent. Is an hereditary taint, the common inheritance of a family, and apparent in their forms and faces, a subject of mutual congratulation on occasions of festive reunion? Is an hereditary shirt of Nessus a subject of

grateful remembrance? The Lord Chancellor cannot think so, nor can he imagine that the better elements of the community, here or in America, have carried tolerance of their legal system to the point of acquiescence. "The administration of the criminal law in America is a disgrace to civilization," said ex-President Taft during his term of office. We invite any reader who considers that statement too highly coloured to ponder over the following statistics. Here are the numbers of murders and executions in the United States for a period of ten years:

			Murders.		Executions.
1901	...	...	7,852	...	118
1902	...	...	8,834	...	144
1903	...	...	8,976	...	123
1904	...	...	8,432	...	116
1905	...	...	9,350	...	123
1906	...	...	8,698	...	118
1907	...	...	8,712	...	104
1908	...	...	8,952	...	92
1909	...	...	8,103	...	107
1910	...	...	8,975	...	104
Total		86,884		Total	1,149

A simple calculation will show that less than 2 per cent. of the murderers during the period under review suffered the extreme penalty of the law. It is asserted that fully 75 per cent. escaped punishment altogether. It is therefore a matter of extreme probability, almost amounting to certainty, that there are at this moment no fewer than 100,000 assassins at large in the United States.

When the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone, during a visit to Naples, found the men of light and leading languishing in prison, he declared that the Government of King Bomba was "the negation of God." Is an identical description not strictly applicable to a legal system which sets red-handed malefactors at liberty to shed blood once more with fine sporting chances of immunity? Consider for a moment the provocation which such a system presents to the perpetration of crime and injustice of every description. The

tragi-comedy of the Thaw case* has become a standing joke. To nations as well as to individuals Stendhal's advice to his sister may be recommended : " Interroge-toi quand tu ris." In another tragi-comedy an accused person has evaded justice for a period of three years, and has only recently been extradited to stand his trial in Italy. In the Sulzer comedy the same feature occurs, and public merriment is provided by suites of eight or ten lawyers on either side raising false issues or endeavouring vainly to combat them. Does the Lord Chancellor really believe that a system whose outcome is so profoundly demoralizing can possibly supply a bond of union or awaken a sentiment of gratitude or a desire for closer relations in the breasts of those who believe that permanent stability in external as in internal relations must be founded upon justice—justice that is real and accessible, not a phantasm before which incense is burnt on great occasions ?

At this point indignant voices are heard. They hasten to enter a caveat. They urge that while the regrettable phenomena cited cannot be denied, the parent system, borrowed from this country, must not be held responsible for abuses which have grown out of it in the land of its adoption. These plausible arguments were admitted to have much force before it was perceived that our legal system, as carried out in India under the eyes of our own judges, learned, upright, and honourable men, has produced—and is at this moment producing—a luxuriant crop of abuses which bear the strongest family resemblance to that rank growth which is the despair of all real friends of the United States. The inherent vice of the system is its enslavement to the letter, with the inevitable concomitant, disregard of the spirit of the law. Hair-splitting refinements, super-subtleties, pedantries immoderately favoured

* The *Times* correspondent in Toronto wired on September 7 as follows : " Many Canadians are now wondering whether the case may not ultimately go before the Privy Council, and are asking themselves whether the processes of the Canadian Courts are not also subject to abuse through the prodigal expenditure of money."

and encouraged by the judiciary, were roundly denounced by ex-President Roosevelt during his term of office as the proximate cause of the immunity of criminals from punishment. These are precisely the methods seized upon by an astute bar—English and native—in India to insure a like immunity to evil-doers, and to foster litigation by offering tempting chances to rich litigants, no matter how unsound their claims may be. Litigation, the official reports declare, is increasing by leaps and bounds in all parts of India. A ministry of lawyers cannot be expected to apply remedies for defects which minister to the aggrandizement of their profession ; and so the fact remains that the Anglo-Norman legal system, with its corner-stone of a Bar-recruited Bench, has proved as little of a subject of gratitude in India as in the United States, except to criminals and lawyers.* Its vice is inherent, ineradicable. Its symptoms were observed in this country before transplantation in India or America. The Bar unfortunately captured the Bench. Technicalities, super-refinements, sophistries, are the vital breath, the native air of the Bar everywhere. We alone of all civilized communities fail to protect the public against this intellectual miasmata. We have suffered from the poison all through our history, and we are now a full century behind our neighbours in the vital domain of law. The root of the evil is the medieval obscurantism of the legal profession, which is due to the fact that the barristers of to-day are the judges of to-morrow. The vested interest of the former is unalterably opposed to progress, and consequently the latter on attaining to the Bench when well advanced in years are not to be moved into new paths. Most unfortunate circumstance of all, the despotism of the Inns of Court is all-powerful to repress progressive impulses in the minds of

* "The criminal laws," Mr. Croly writes in "The Promise of American Life," "have been so carefully framed and so admirably expounded for the benefit of the lawyers and their friends the malefactors that a very large proportion of American murderers escape the proper punishment of their acts, and these dubious and dilatory judicial methods are indubitably one effective cause of the prevalence of lynching in the South."

youth. And so the vicious circle is firmly established with these Inns as the citadel. Such is the system for which we are responsible. We introduced it into America and India. In the latter country its inherent vice, a barrister-Bench, is tempered by the fact that a third of the judiciary is recruited from the Civil Service. The legal history of the last quarter of a century abundantly proves that civilian-judges have contributed in hardly a single instance to the frequent judicial scandals and failures of justice in which their barrister colleagues have been involved. Our special pleaders therefore strive in vain to dissociate our system from its natural and inevitable developments in the lands of its adoption. It is proved to demonstration that our method of making the Bar the sole and only source of recruitment for the Bench is vicious; that method is condemned by theory and reprobated by experience. It is productive of so much mischief in America that our appropriate attitude with regard to the Republic should be an expression of regret for the *fons et origo mali*, not a tone of boastfulness. As regards the influence of our common legal* system on the chances of a permanent peace, we must not forget that Colonel Homer Lea, an American writer, in "The Valour of Ignorance," takes great pains to explain the connection between the abuse of legal forms and the chances of foreign complications. "The predisposing causes of war with Japan," he says, "are inherent in the overt acts of a portion of the people. . . . These Orientals are disfranchised and treated by the populace not alone with social unconcern, but with indignity. . . . They cannot appeal to the courts where their case may be determined by a jury, for the jury being of the people has decided that as heathens they cannot be believed on oath. . . . The motives, moreover, that

* In Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors" (vol. i., p. 42) we read: "Lord Chancellor Giffard had heartily concurred in the oppression of the Saxons in the early part of William's reign, and had declared that they were to be considered aliens in their native land, and had assisted in the measures for upsetting English law and extirpating the English language." The italics are ours.

actuate mob-lawlessness are identical with the spirit that directs municipal ordinances against them, the legislation of the State, and the injustice of the judiciary." A little reflection will convince us that the apotheosis of the advocate through the abuse of the jury system leads inevitably to the effacement of the judge; and so the Bar, like the revolution, devours its children and places the external relations of the Republic in jeopardy. Another disturbing effect of the Bar-habit which is rampant in America was seen in ex-President Taft's interpretation of the Panama Treaty regarding the tolls. That interpretation which read hidden meanings into simple clauses was treated with scorn by many of the most serious thinkers in America; but it is still upheld by certain senators and defended by the legal fraternity, with few exceptions. Discussing the Panama tolls and somewhat analogous action on the part of the United States in regard to the Seal Fisheries, about which this country and Japan had grounds for complaint, Mr. Maurice Low, the American correspondent of the *Morning Post*, asked his readers the question recently, "Is it worth while making treaties with the United States?" The context clearly indicated that the answer could only be in the negative.

These are a few instances of the continual menace to the smooth working of diplomatic relations with the United States. Observe that it is a country where the lawyer occupies a pre-eminent position which has no parallel in the world. The Supreme Court, as guardian of the Constitution, is above the Legislature. By that fact alone the status of the profession is notably exalted. The lawyer is Sir Oracle, and America is now the chief centre of the legalism which had its origin in this country. We have been saved from its most flamboyant developments by the fortunate circumstance that the lawyer is not yet *de jure* (although he is at this moment, by a piece of political chicanery, *de facto*) above the Legislature. We have followed these developments of legalism in America in their

reaction upon crime,* in their encouragement to lawlessness and in their danger to peace. Legalism endangers the peace of the world in two ways: first, by providing chances of immunity for outbursts of lawlessness in which the subjects of Foreign Powers are victims—witness the outrages in New Orleans some years ago which went unpunished, and brought about grave difficulties with Italy; secondly, by the unexpected, unwarrantable, and tricky interpretation of the plainest language in treaties.

Such is the *damnosa hereditas* of legalism which has made the name of justice a mockery, the plaything of every ridiculous quibble urged, and too often sustained, at the behest of the money-power. Legalism we have shown to be a menace of disintegration and of international complications. Powerful as professional bias is, and easily reconciled as a Lord Chancellor may be to a system which has the merit of producing him, we resolutely decline to believe that he is the dupe of a delusion so blind as to mistake that potent solvent of society, legalism, for a cement that can bind the Anglo-Saxon nations in a sane and lasting union. If any other hypothesis seems to involve a suspicion of insincerity, we answer that charges of insincerity† provoke a smile in legal circles. The Lord Chancellor spoke as an advocate addressing advocates. He held a brief nominally for the sacred cause of peace, but really for our common inheritance—the Anglo-Norman legal system. And assuredly the audience was worthy of the speaker. The scene is described as most impressive. To the lay reader it suggests curious trains of thought. Compare the magnificent record of successful research and beneficent discovery spread out before us during the session of the recent Medical Congress with the sterility of legalism. Medicine is a really progressive profession.

*. "Crime in the United States is multitudinous and rampant," says the author of "The Valor of Ignorance."

† The gift of the United States to the Palace of Peace at the Hague is a statue of Justice, with the inscription, "Peace through Justice."

At the same time there was a great Legal Congress in session. Its report filled a little more than half a column of the *Times*. If it is urged that the studies are different, inasmuch as law does not admit of analogous developments, we do not agree. The monumental work carried out by our Continental neighbours goes a long way to establish a claim for law to be considered a scientific study. We have never been able to rise from empiricism to wide generalizations. We are occupied with fine points of law. And from a quarter whence better things might have been expected, we find a pretentious eulogy of mediævalism and loud praise of those false gods of the legal Pantheon—namely, judges of the past who have posed as legislators. This cult is really unworthy of nations claiming to be in the van of civilization. It is unintelligent; it ministers to the ascendancy of its own priesthood, while it handicaps the nation, and places us at a grave disadvantage as regards our neighbours. There was current some years ago a story of the “ben trovato” order, according to which the late Mr. Barnum, soon after his purchase of the huge elephant called “Jumbo,” mentioned to a couple of friends that he was on his way to dine with the Lord Chancellor. One of them who was unaware of the popularity of the showman in exalted circles, ventured smilingly to hint at a sense of incongruity. The other protested that there was no incongruity, but, on the contrary, a strong similarity of function. Addressing Mr. Barnum, he said :

“ You are sending * home a Jumbo.
He provides us, it is clear,
With an ever-present Mumbo—
Jumbo for our worship here.”

* This is a description of the incident in an American paper: “The population of London, with the Lord Mayor at their head, journeyed to the docks. Approaching Jumbo, they cried with one voice, ‘We entreat thee not to leave us.’ But at the critical moment Mr. Barnum appeared, and the greatest survivor of the pleistocene forthwith decided to visit the Republic of the West.”

The irreverent author of that ancient epigram might now find a further resemblance between the late Mr. Barnum and the present Lord Chancellor—the travelling showman of the legal Mumbo-Jumbo. Considered in this capacity, his performance at Montreal was altogether admirable. The haunting sense of unreality disappears. The legal, literary, and poetical fireworks * are recognized as part of the art and artifice of advocacy. The exordium magnifies the function of the men of law. Then follows a pæan to common law, the sheet anchor of the Bar. That is the *pièce de résistance*. Its appropriateness is manifest. The utter impossibility of appreciating the beauty of the common law without profound historical study is insisted upon, to the delighted approval of the professional audience. In this happy mood they were invited to entertain the ideal of a "higher nationality," to be attained through patient devotion to sweet reasonableness, *sittlichkeit*, which is German for cricket on its ethical side. Thus shall a reunion of the Anglo-Saxon group of nations be achieved, and Peace enthroned through the years that are to come. This is the high resolve of the Anglo-Saxon group. But as we wish it a cordial Godspeed, we perceive that a singular feature emerges. Something in the nature of a condition is attached to the high resolve. As the peroration rises through a crescendo movement to the climax, another hosannah is chanted to the common law in these words : "We who are lawyers of the New World and of the Old Mother-Country possess,† as I have said to you, a tradition which is distinctive and peculiarly our own." Our great actor-advocate, in giving the New World precedence of the Old Mother, is reminiscent of the Roman philanderer who flirted with mother and daughter in turn. The absent one

* We are indebted to the *Observer* for a list of the authorities and authors referred to or cited. They number twenty-eight, and range from Plato and Plutarch to Dickens and Meredith.

† This is the only portion of our vast possessions which we may be well assured that none of our neighbours will attempt to beg, borrow, or steal from us.

was always mentioned; but in one case she was "the beautiful mother of a still more beautiful daughter," in the other she was "the beautiful daughter of a still more beautiful mother." The orator continues: "We have been taught to look on our system of Justice, not as something that waits to be embodied in abstract codes before it can be said to exist, but as what we ourselves are progressively and co-operatively evolving."* Being interpreted, this pronouncement means that codes have no place in the high resolve: we are to be satisfied in all time to come with judge-made law. Nor is co-operative evolution a pseudo-scientific euphemism to be used when the expression "judge-made law" had better not be mentioned. Our legal Barnum addressing a thousand barristers has the courage of his opinions. In an earlier portion of the address the following passage occurs: "It is by no accident that among Anglo-Saxon† lawyers the law does not assume the form of codes, but is largely judge-made." Not only so, but the speaker cited with approval an American authority who declared that, "Even the prejudices which judges shared with their fellow-men have had a good deal more to do than the syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed." As each one of the thousand barristers has a piece of the judge's ermine in his pocket, he lays the flattering unction to his soul that every to-morrow shall be

* Compare Mr. Asquith's encyclical on common law before an audience of barristers in 1888: "The common law of England is not a compendium of mechanical rules written in fixed and indelible characters, but a living organism, which has grown and moved in response to the larger and fuller development of the nation." This was Bentham's comment on similar vapourings: "The common law is a rule of wax, which lawyers twist about as they please; a hook to lead the people by the nose, and a pair of shears to fleece them withal."

† These legalist utterances contain a fresh fallacy at every turn. In pre-Norman times the Bench had not been captured by the Bar. The judiciary was composed of local magnates and men of standing—an important distinction from a professional Bench, which is a mere section of the Bar. Our legal system is therefore more correctly described as an Anglo-Norman, rather than an Anglo-Saxon, system. At the same time, it is true that our present mode of recruiting the Bench is indigenous.

as to-day. The Montreal millennium is to be a lawyers' millennium. We others are recommended to borrow *sittlichkeit*, but not codification, from Germany. We are to be content with our medieval chaos, although it makes Justice five or six times more inaccessible in this country than it is in Germany ; although it is discrediting our rule in India;* although it is bringing the administration of the law into open contempt in America. Hardly had the orator turned his back on the great palaver to hurry homeward—and we surely could have spared him for a few hours longer—when scathing denunciations of the legal outfit were heard—and this is a hopeful feature—from a barrister-judge. This was Judge Hook of Kansas. "Their procedure," he said,† "had become a great aggregation of elements without rhyme or reason. There was a whirring of many heavy wheels with a maximum of noise and a minimum of result. Many years' patient study had failed to give mastery to those in charge, and much precious time was spent in nice disputes over intricacies. Some even said that they brought grist and received chaff. . . . Bentham, writing on the laws of England 100 years ago, declared that they were a fathomless, boundless chaos, made up of fiction, tautology, and technicality; and that the administrative parts were a system of exquisitely contrived chicanery and denial of justice. Judge Hook remarked that, while English judicial procedure at the time mentioned had reached the height of complexity, it would be unjust‡ to lay upon

* "Inexplicable acquittals encourage crime, and ruin the prestige of the dominant race" (M. Chailley in "Administrative Problems of British India," 1910).

† *The Times*, September 5.

‡ This is Judge Hook's politeness. The simple truth might have seemed an indirect reflection on the guest who had obtained His August Master's permission to accept the invitation of the Bar Association. It is obvious that since the declaration of American independence we have no legal responsibility for stereotyping the Bar-habit upon the Bench by our method of recruiting the judiciary. It is open to the Republic to recruit its Bench as it pleases. As regards India, however, our responsibility is direct, uninterrupted, and indisputable.

England the responsibility for the present involved legal procedure in the United States. He summed up the accusations against the Judges and lawyers of the present day as follows: They lacked human sympathy; they failed to understand the efforts to secure social and industrial betterment, and were greatly opposed to progress and improvement; they worshipped blindly at the shrine of precedent; they dealt in technicalities, and exalted hidden meanings; while prolixity was their besetting sin. Of criminal procedure in the United States, he said that all candid men agreed that for research it stood in a class by itself. It would be humourous if it were not tragic."

Judge Burke, of the Maryland Appeal Court, followed with a paper on legal procedure and social unrest. He said that, "In order to allay social discontent and reconcile the people to the administration of justice, there must be changes in the law by which the inherent rights of men should be re-established and realized in daily life, minimizing the evils of mere technicality, and securing the speedy administration of justice. The demand for reform was widespread and imperative. . . . Grave social and industrial wrongs had grown out of their wonderful civilization and mighty industrialism, exciting popular indignation and widespread social unrest. Their politics were demoralized and corrupted by the lavish use of money." To complete this sombre picture we cannot do better than cite a passage from Mr. Roosevelt's speech at Harvard during his term of office as President: "We all know that as things are, many of the most influential and most highly remunerated members of the Bar, in every centre of wealth, make it their special task to work out bold and ingenious schemes by which their wealthy clients, individual or corporate, can evade the laws which were made to regulate in the interest of the public the uses of wealth."

These men are the judges of to-morrow; they formed no

inconsiderable section of the thousand * of Montreal; they are the builders of the Palace of Peace; to them were addressed lofty ideals of self-sacrifice, high resolve, and higher nationality. To anyone who can blink the tragedy, it is admirable fooling, worthy of the comic actor-advocate, when such a system as ours, with its constructors, ancient and modern, are held up for admiration, and we are assured that what they have done is "but earnest of the things that they shall do." This is a type of humour which belongs to burlesque. Our exalted showman's prototype excelled in it. He exhibited "two heads of Washington, one as a boy the other as a grown man."†

On the same great occasion at a subsequent session ex-President Taft,‡ a member of the Bar, inveighed against the exiguity of judicial emoluments in America. He would like to level them up to the English standard. Our scale of remuneration is defended in this country on the ground that judges must be placed above temptation. To outbid all possible temptation by pecuniary payment is not only profoundly cynical, but extremely expensive, and offers no satisfactory guarantee of success. It reduces the highest civil functionaries of the State to reprehensible association with the lowest order of jockeys and eunuchs, whose skill and fidelity must be secured and refreshed by largesse. Well may our judges pray to be saved from the injudicious friends who advance such a defence for our phenomenal scale of emoluments.‡ Moreover, careful observation of human weakness teaches us the signal folly of expecting that the love of money will be repressed by pouring a shower of gold into the legal lap. Precisely the opposite effect is produced, as our contemporary history proves. It has been demonstrated that twice the emolument which

* "September 1st.—Delivered the address which was the object of my visit before 1,000 barristers."—The Lord Chancellor's diary, *Daily Mirror*, September 9.

† Who discovered hidden meanings in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and was rewarded with a Chair of Law.

‡ "We bribe them not to be bribed. We put silver spoons in their mouths so that spoons shall not be found in their pockets."—G. K. CHESTERTON.

our highly-paid judges receive is still insufficient to ward off temptation from the Lord Chief Justice Elect. Is ex-President Taft prepared to recommend any advance on £17,000 a year? If so, where will he draw the line?

We read that the Message of Montreal is to be translated into French, German, Russian, and Chinese. This out-Barnums Barnum. Our French friends will smile. But more critical eyes in Germany, who are on the watch for symptoms of decadence, will find them in this manifesto of a parasitical caste. Far from furthering the cause of peace, this manifesto is most distinctly prejudicial thereto. The delay, uncertainty, and expense of our legal administration at home, and the odium which it is bringing upon us in India,* are perfectly well known in Germany. The tempting field which legalism in America offers to lawlessness is thoroughly appreciated by turbulent spirits in Germany who hasten thither. It is their land of promise. According to the author of "The Valour of Ignorance," Germans form a large proportion of the criminal class in America. They find the chances of immunity incomparably better than in their own country. When the German reading public peruse this extravagant laudation of a legal system whose fruits are before them, and clearly indicate the nature of the tree; when they consider the structure which is to be built on such a foundation without the suggestion of removing a single blemish; when they reflect that the ascendancy of the legal caste in this country is in direct ratio to the confusion, uncertainty, and expense of our legal administration—

* In its issue of September 25, 1912, the *Times* published the following from its Calcutta correspondent, headed, "The Calcutta High Court": "The European Defence Association has presented an address to the Government demanding an urgent inquiry into the working of the Calcutta High Court, which, the Association asserts, is becoming an arena of political intrigue. There is grave reason to fear, the address adds, that a recent judgment was not devoid of political bias."

The same journal in a leading article in its issue of July 23, 1912, has this passage: "The working of the High Courts of India, and more particularly of the Calcutta High Court, has been a secret ulcer in the Indian administration for more than a century."

need we be surprised that they find convincing proofs of decadence in Empire and Republic? Urge the immense mass of inarticulate discontent which cannot find expression, the hostile critic retorts that a country has the legal system which it deserves. Point out the formidable barrier in the path of progress when the machinery of Government and a full half of the avenues to publicity have been captured by the dominant caste, and you are met with the rejoinder that the parasite is directing the policy of the host. "Try to conjure up a conception of an analogous physical condition in the case of a rich invalid, and judge if it is not likely to be a subject of *Schadenfreude* to an impetuous and impatient heir."

Our foreign critics are too ready to accept stagnation in one department as evidence of general intellectual decadence. There is no such evidence except where the lawyer has thrust his devastating hand.* Other activities show no symptom of decadence. Our special pleaders, on the other hand, pretend that our recalcitrance to large generalizations is not only a special virtue of our nation, but a permanent and irremediable characteristic, because its continuance in the province of law is advantageous to them.

But the transparent falsity of this alleged inaptitude is seen when we recall the fact that to men of our nation are due the most fruitful generalizations in physical science and biology. Careful and exact observation is our strong point. We do not readily form theories and force facts to square with them. We record, collect, collate, compare, and contrast observations during long years. Then in the fulness of time a man appears whose commanding genius illuminates the fairy tales of science as by a lightning flash and discovers a guiding principle, what we call, for want

* In the *Times* of September 5, under the heading, "The Italian Occupation of Libya," we read: "The words of an Arab remained impressed upon the writer's mind. 'For two years, five, let us be governed by these soldiers, whom we know. We do not want scribes to rule us, and, above all, no lawyers.' And he repeated with emphasis, 'No lawyers!'"

of a better word, a law, in the sheer confusion.* But such a hypothesis is never proclaimed from a new Sinai as fixed and unalterable, like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. Science is more modest. It says : " This hypothesis fits all the observations within our present range of knowledge. There is no finality ; we are still inquiring, still open to conviction. This hypothesis may have to be abandoned ; but from what we can see at present it is being strengthened year by year." Thus, and not otherwise, has science progressed. That being so, we may venture to refer parenthetically to the gross misrepresentation in Mr. Asquith's sneer at codification as " rules written in fixed and indelible characters." There are no such rules. Codes are subject to periodical revision. A department in the Ministry of Justice, which is not a mere annexe of the Bar, is charged with that important duty, and it receives undivided and continuous attention. Again we repeat, there is no finality. But periodical modifications, after due deliberation by specially trained and unprejudiced persons, who have a single eye to the public welfare, differ as widely as the poles from our vaunted common or judge-made law. That it has emerged " in response to the needs of the nation " is an incorrect description. Much of it has emerged in response to the plausible sophistries which favourite† advocates have foisted upon weak judges.

To return from our brief digression : How, we ask, can it be expected that great guiding principles can be formulated and the rich harvests in other activities garnered in the study of law when the whole field is mortgaged to vested interest and governed despotically‡ by the Inns

* " Wenn aller Wesen unharmon'sche Menge
Verdriesslich durcheinander klingt."
GOETHE.

† " Lord Mansfield was free from the besetting sin of being unduly under the influence of counsel, either from favour or from fear " (Lord Campbell's " Lives of the Chief Justices," vol. ii , p. 398).

‡ Passing an examination does not qualify an advocate to plead. There is an examination, and it is no longer the farce of the early portion o'

of Court? The conditions of intellectual freedom are not present. Youthful innovators who are eager to bring us into line with our neighbours are sternly discouraged: the benchers "deal with them." The whole environment is medieval. The progressive minority is powerless, inarticulate. Reaction is supreme. The late Justice Grantham asserted that the last serious attempt at an adequate scheme of codification was wrecked by an intrigue.* In such a soil nothing can grow that will subserve the public weal; nothing can come to harvest but a ruthless egotism which begins and ends with personal triumphs. The law at present is a pseudo-Liberal profession, in which a morbid individualism is rampant. Under identical conditions there could have been no large views, no guiding principles promulgated in any department of study whatsoever. We are fully warranted in maintaining that for our lamentable backwardness in law the national apathy and no other national characteristic is to blame. We observe that our special pleaders occasionally change their ground and maintain that the fault is inherent in the subject which is declared to be refractory to generalizations. The magnificent work of French and German jurists sufficiently disposes of this contention. The *coutumes* in France were the counterpart of our common law. In his "*Étude et Discours*" (Paris, 1911), M. Maurice Sabatier writes: "The question was much discussed at first whether it was well to transform into a single body of law the whole collection of usages, local and Roman laws which had been in force for centuries." "Like the Law of Justinian," says the same author, "the Civil Code has conquered the world." Quoting Montesquieu, he lays down the sound principle that "Laws should not be subtle;

last century. But an indispensable condition is continued membership of an Inn. Hence the disciplinary power of the benchers.

* *The Times*, December 1, 1911, Obituary Notice of Mr. Justice Grantham.

they are made for people of mediocre intelligence ; they are not an exercise in logic, but the instructions of the simple father of a family."

Our allotted space is wellnigh exhausted, but one more fallacy we must nail to the Bar. We observe that certain protagonists of legalism have hastened to fall upon the Lord Chancellor's neck in a transport of delighted congratulation. One admirer finds a conclusive argument against codification—and the stress on this point explains the true inwardness of the Montreal manifesto—in the fact that as we have no written constitution, so it is not in keeping with the genius of the nation to be governed by a Code. This is a mere variant of the contention which we have shown to be without foundation in fact. But there is a vaguely plitudinous plausibility in the pretended constitutional parallel that deserves a moment's attention.

Constitutional law and, what may be called for convenience, private law belong to quite different provinces, although bracketed together by a confusion of thought. In a country such as this, where the main current of popular interest is in politics, the genius of the people, unrestricted by medievalism, has had free scope. We have been successful innovators—although the less said just now about the condition of our own constitution the better—and we have found imitators all over the world. Compare this wholesome activity with the absolute sterility and obscurantism of the other domain, that of private law, which we have left as a happy hunting-ground for the Bar and the Bench, its dutiful and obedient progeny. In this domain nine-tenths of our innovations have been made exclusively in the interest of the legal profession ; and during the last century we have been chiefly occupied in removing abuses, not in achieving substantial progress. Mere tinkering, a coat of paint here and a patch there, have been trumpeted as important reforms, with the net result that we are hopelessly behind our neighbours as regards the accuracy of our legal standards ; and, observe,

that in its opposite—namely, inaccuracy—there are included the factors of uncertainty, delay, and expense.

Let us suppose that an officer of the geodetical survey is engaged in delimiting frontiers. The place of his abode may be a house, a tent, a covered boat, an old temple, or a caravan, depending on the country and the climate. His dwelling, be it under a tent or a roof-tree, may be taken to represent constitutional law. That it is something of a make-shift, a compromise, and far from theoretical perfection, is not really a serious objection. If the habitation is practically useful, if it provides shelter and a tolerable degree of comfort, so that the dweller's duties are not interrupted, he does not occupy himself with it any further. But a conscientious officer will insist upon a close approach to perfection in his instruments. There must be no make-shifts in them, no compromises. An accurate line must be drawn which can be tested by independent measurements, otherwise how shall justice be done as between the two States who trust him? These instruments of precision represent private law. Our neighbours have such standards.* But, say our legalists, they are unsuited to us. Our readers will not fail to observe this suspicious circumstance : those who sound the loud timbrel in praise of the commodity falsely labelled "justice" in England, India, and America, are exclusively its purveyors like the thousand of Montreal ; and even among them discordant notes were heard. But how about the consumers? Are no testimonials forthcoming from them? Not so much as a single unsolicited, disinterested testimonial? Not one!

Hence the imperative necessity for proclaiming the virtues of the counterfeit article in more clamorous tones than ever before. Hence the mission to Montreal of a pseudo-philosopher to adumbrate the advent of a pseudo-millennium.

* In Viscount Haldane's "Germany in the Nineteenth Century" we read : "Orderliness becomes easy when first principles have been clearly defined."

SPECIAL FEATURES OF ISLAM.*

BY KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN,

Editor *Islamic Review*.

THAT Islam admittedly was the torch-bearer of learning and light in the West in days when Europe was enshrouded in ignorance and darkness, and that the followers of the Holy Prophet were undoubtedly among the very few factors in creating the conditions which led to the present culture and advancement here, are in themselves cogent reasons which should strongly appeal to your sense of duty and justice towards Islam and the Mussalmans. What a pity that with all the outpouring of learning and literature, no proper efforts are made to clear off that cloud of misrepresentation and want of knowledge which still envelopes the religion of Arabia in the West. You can afford to explore dead and dull regions of Antarctic oceans at the expense of inestimable human lives and resources, but you do not care to fathom that great religious ocean which deeply affects physical, moral, and spiritual regions of a vast number of humanity. It is a happy sign, however, to find plans of Universal Religion discussed in your programme, and a desire to create a better understanding amongst the adherents of the various denominations and persuasions of the world ; but in order to find out a *via media* between different religions, and to create harmony among the conflicting elements in religious

* A paper read at the Sixth Congress of Religions in Paris on July 19, 1913. This article appeared in the *Islamic Review*, September, 1913, but on account of its importance, and the interest it created in Paris, the Editor has deemed that it would be of special interest to the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

opinion, is it not necessary that first-hand information should be obtained at least of a religion, which at present is a living force and a co-worker with other factors in humanizing millions of men still living on the planes of ignorance and barbarity. It is absolutely inconsistent with your advanced culture that your information on Islam should come through adulterated channels and from the hands of propagandists hostile to Islam ; and in this respect allow me to assure you that *misconception*, *misconstruction*, or even *misinterpretation* of Islam and its tenets is not our complaint, it is

MISREPRESENTATION AND MISINFORMATION,

by which we are the chief sufferers here. Things having no existence whatsoever in our teachings and polity have been imputed to us, and baseless charges advanced against Islam ; nay, the very beauties which we count amongst our exclusive possessions have been denied to us, and the very evils which Islam came to eradicate, and did succeed in so doing, are ascribed to it. Do not monotheistic ideas pervade all your deliberations to-day in this Liberal Congress, and is not, therefore, your everlasting gratitude due to the religion which alone in the most unequivocal way taught the Unity of God and the Equality of Man !

The shortness of the time at my disposal disables me from giving you even a bird's-eye view of my religion, but availing myself of the courtesy awarded to me, allow me to give you a few features of Islam which, to my mind, as a student of religion for the last twenty years, appeal as its special and exclusive acquisitions.

MUSLIM ATTITUDE TOWARDS OTHER RELIGIONS.

The very first word in the book of Islam inculcates the most generous views which a Muslim must entertain towards the other religions of the world. Almost all pre-Islamic religions, while claiming Divine revelation for their origin, denied that privilege to the others, as if the adherents of the latter were the step-children of God, or the Universal Father forgot them after they were created. This narrow-

mindedness created contempt and hatred between nations and nations, and caused disintegration among the various members of God's family, resulting in wars and fighting, which devastated everything noble and high in humanity. But Islam uprooted this very idea ; it taught that every* nation had been blessed with a teacher from God. The Divine origin of every religion was admitted, and subsequent innovations by man, if any were pointed out. "*All praise and glory is due to Allah (God), who is Creator, Sustainer, and Nourisher of all the races of mankind,*" are the opening words of the Koran. Is not physical sustenance open to every man white or black ; why not, then, spiritual ? If the various components of Nature have been created to meet equally the physical needs of all the nations of the world, nourishment of soul is equally needed. And therefore the Final Word of God in the Koran declared that all the prophets of various nations of the world came from God, and brought light from one Divine source. Nay, Islam did not assume and claim a new position for itself† as a religion. It came to complete that old, old religion :

THE GOSPEL OF OBEDIENCE TO DIVINE LAWS,

which was gradually revealed to the blessed race of the prophets from Adam to Jesus. As the Koran says in this respect :—

" Say (ye Muslims) : We believe in God, and what has been sent down to us (through the Holy Prophet), and what has been sent to Abraham and Ismael and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and in what was given to Moses, and Jesus, and the Prophet, from their Lord. We make no difference between them, and to Him are we resigned."—The Koran II. 88.

This verse not only makes a Muslim a follower of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, but infuses in him a spirit of

* "And to every people have we sent an Apostle, saying : 'Worship God and turn away from Satan.'"—The Koran 16 : 38. "Every people hath its guide."—The Koran 13 : 8. "Nor hath there been a people unvisited by its warner."—The Koran 35 : 21.

† "To-day, I (God) have completed the faith."—The Koran.

allegiance and reverence to Moses, Jesus, and all other prophets of the world. The Koran is his sacred book, no doubt, but the sacred scriptures of other nations are also his common property with them.

RELIGION A PRACTICAL LIFE.

The second special feature which I claim for Islam is the different conception of religion which it presents to its followers. Islam does not believe in rituals and ceremonials as essentials in religion, nor does it inculcate any dogma or sacrament. It is neither monasticism nor absolute prudentialism. It makes religion a simple, practical life. In every deed and action, and in every thought and conception, a Mussalman has to observe his religion. Hence Islam provides various laws and regulations for observance in one's life. And does not our daily life exert deep influence upon our soul and morals? One who regards spirituality as something different from what may be called *an outcome of balanced morals and passions* has hardly understood human nature. Hence the Muslim's spirituality does not begin to work when he goes into the four walls of his sanctuary, nor has he to wait for certain periods of time in a week or a month for the edification of his soul. Everything, even of the least magnitude and intensity, whether good or bad, he has been taught has a deep effect* upon his life in every respect, and he stands responsible for it before God, who is believed to be Omnipresent and Omniscient. The Holy Prophet Muhammad, when questioned, defined Islam in one word. Islam, he said, consists in

OBEEDIENCE TO GOD AND BENEVOLENCE TO HIS CREATURES.

A religion which alone, in my humble judgment, can be and ought to be the coming religion of the world. No

* "And whosoever shall have wrought an atom's weight of good shall behold it. And whosoever shall have wrought an atom's weight of evil shall behold it."—The Koran 99 : 7, 8.

doubt Islam also teaches certain beliefs and enjoins certain practices, but lest they may be confused with what constitutes real religion, they have been named Pillars of Islam and not Islam in themselves ; but they are indispensable, as beliefs lead to human actions and practice makes man perfect. That *rituals are of little value, if unattended with virtuous actions and good beliefs*, has been elucidated in the following verse from the Koran :

" There is no piety in turning your face towards the East or the West, but he is pious who believeth in God and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets ; who for the love of God disburseth his wealth to his kindred and to the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransoming ; who observeth prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and who is of those who are faithful to their engagements when they have engaged in them, and patient under ills and hardships, and in time of trouble ; these are they who are just and these are they who fear the Lord."—The Koran II. 171.

THE ISLAMIC NOTION OF WORSHIP.

And it would not be out of place to give here the Islamic notion of the worship of God and His glorification, which has been considered to be the main object of religion in the world. Under the teachings of Islam *God is much too great to be pleased in seeing man bow down at His altar.** Man's submission or disobedience to Him, according to the Koran, neither adds to nor subtracts from His Divine glory, as God is self-sufficient. Edification of God under Islam consists in edification of man. Similarly glorification

* " Thou shalt warn those who fear their Lord in secret, and observe prayer. And whoever shall keep himself pure, he purifieth himself to his own behoof."—The Koran 35 : 19. " Be thankful to God : for whoever is thankful, is thankful to his own behoof ; and if any shall be thankless . . . God truly is self-sufficient, worthy of all praise."—The Koran 31 : 11.

of God simply means regeneration of man. The very word *Ibádat*, which in the Arabic texts stands for worship and adoration to God, is very suggestive. Literally it also means to open and work out what is latent in one. To convert our high and noble potentialities into actualities is therefore the chief object of our *Ibádat*—i.e., worship; but to do so we need certain laws and regulations revealed to us by Him who is the creator of all our faculties. Thus, in the second place, worship of God comes to mean obedience to such laws and regulations. Again, certain beliefs and practices are necessary to create in one a disposition to obey and submit, in order to make him observant of Divine commandments which are conducive to his final regeneration. Thus in common parlance saying prayers, fasting, and doing other things, come to mean worship. Otherwise real worship and true glorification of God are simply meant to cause edification and evolving of man.* One who fails to edify himself, has failed to realize the object of worship. Similarly, if Islam lays special stress on the unity of God and destroys all polytheistic tendencies in man, it is not to satisfy a certain passion of

JEALOUSY IN GOD,

who cannot suffer to see any other deity on the same altar with Him. It is in order to accept one and the only one source of the law, that the unity of God is so emphatically preached in Islam. God, the creator of our faculties as well as the author of all other things in the Universe created to help human development, can alone know and show us the way of our evolution and give the law. But if I † have got more than one god to worship, my sense of obedience to His law must suffer. Hence to believe in one and the only one God is essential for the proper growth and moulding of

* "Believers, bow down and prostrate yourselves and worship your Lord and work righteousness that you may become evolved."—The Koran 22 : 76.

† "Had there been in either heaven or earth gods besides God, there would have been confusion in them both."—The Koran 21 : 22.

my real character. Besides, the very idea of the unity of God establishes two things which are the only basis of all our civilization and culture : the equality of man and the subservience of Nature. The first opens chances of progress equally to everyone, and the other leads to all scientific researches ; and the Koran in explicit terms mentions these two things as the necessary fruits of our belief in the unity of God.

ISLAM PROVIDES A COMPLETE CODE OF LIFE.

If religion or the worship of God is therefore so closely connected with our own regeneration, are we not in need of laws and regulations to guide us ? Our physical conditions produce a deep effect upon our morals, which when exercised with high character work out our spirituality. Our ethics and polity have also to play a great part in our spiritual growth. Besides, we are subject to our environments. Those surrounding us affect us, and are in their turn affected by us. We cannot do without them ; thus we need a complete code of laws regulating our mutual relations, suiting all our walks of life, and helping us in all our endeavours. Without such training and regulation the attainment of spirituality is impossible. Those who speak of it, independent of all our social and communal bonds, hardly understand the signification of their own utterances.

It is, however, to meet this natural demand that Islam has another special feature. It provides rules and laws suiting all conditions of humanity. Man in every position and capacity finds something in the Koran to guide him. Religion is not the monopoly of one class or section of humanity ; and men differ from each other in degree of culture and taste. Those who live in Central Africa are poles apart intellectually, morally, and socially from those in Europe. But Islam claims to furnish rules and regulations for them all. If it gives ordinary and initial laws of sociality to Central Africa to improve their physical conditions and improve their social relations, it teaches sublime morals

and high spirituality to men of advancement and culture, and brings them to that highest goal of human soaring which brings man into union with God. It is in this connection that Islam teaches

THE SINLESSNESS OF MAN.

It does not believe in the inheritance of sin. Sin, according to Islam, is not in man's nature, but an individual's acquisition after his birth. We are therefore named *Muslim*—i.e., obedient to the law. And what is sin? Simply disobedience. Hence one who is a true Muslim is sinless. Sin is an acquired thing, and can be purged off. I am surely a Son of God, and the beginning words of the Lord's Prayer teach me to believe so. I may become a prodigal, but I can claim my heritage, and become His "begotten"; and how can I be in union with God if sin is my nature; if I cannot be free from it, to be at one with the Great Sinless is an uncompassable thing? It is in this respect that the Book of Islam conferred the highest boon on the human race. It was to create in man the consciousness of possessing the highest capabilities, and to open before his eyes a prospect of unlimited progress.

The holy words of our Book in this respect are as follows :

"Verily we (God) created man with the best fabric, endowed him with the best faculties, then brought him down to be the lowest of the low (i.e., he is also prone to go to the lowest ebb), save those who believe in truths and do the things that are right, theirs is the unlimited reward."—The Koran 95 : 3, 4, 5.

Is not this very idea, that man is equipped with the highest capabilities and can make unlimited progress, the chief attraction and pride of Rationalism? "This * idea of continued and uninterrupted development is one that seems

* "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," by Lecky. Edition 1910, p. 168

absolutely to override our age. It is scarcely possible to open any really able book on any subject without encountering it in some form. It is stirring all science to its very depths ; it is revolutionizing all historical literature." But who should claim the credit of bringing out this golden rule of advancement into the world ? In most clear terms it has been existing in the Koran for the last 1,300 years, while Rationalism is admittedly of modern growth. Nay, the text in the Koran is in a much improved form, giving us a complete insight into every phase of human nature. We no doubt are equipped with the best faculties, but we are not free from reactionary elements in our nature. Potentialities do exist on both sides. We have a bright as well as a dark side of our character. "We created man," the God of the Koran says, "with the best fabric, but we also bring him down to be the lowest of low, if he fails to observe good laws, and do right things." What a truism! and we observe it in our daily life. Men equally circumstanced and born with equal environments, run different ways in their course of life : one ascends to the top of the ladder and the other lies at the bottom. Scrutinize their modes of life, and the truth revealed in the Koran's words comes home to us. One accepted the right path, and the other fell into error and went astray. Rationalism gives us only an energizing factor, but the Book of God adds to it the necessary check and caution. The latter gives us a perfect code, while the former takes a partial view. In order to keep this golden rule of life always before our eyes, we have been taught to repeat the following in the concluding portion of our daily prayer, which may be said to be the analogue of the Lord's Prayer with us Muslims :

"Guide us, O Lord, into the right path which leads us to Thee, and let it be so that, remaining firm in that path, we may be guided to walk in the footsteps of persons upon whom have been Thy blessings and favours. Save us, O God, from the path of the people

upon whom has been Thy wrath, and of those who, having fallen into *errors*, have gone *astray* and not reached Thee. Be it so, O God."

Those who tread the right path and remain firm in it, "continued and uninterrupted" development comes to them; all their noble and high potentialities become actualities, and these are the Blessings of God, but those who *fall into error* and go *astray*, they become "the lowest of the low," which in the Book of Islam has been named as the "Wrath of God." The words: "Thy blessings and favours" are worthy of note. They have the widest signification and encompass everything good and noble; everything necessary and desirable. The words speak of themselves and do not require any explanation. But I would say one word about that highest blessing which God conferred on man, a Divine gift which, according to the Koran, is open to all mankind. It is

TO BE AT ONE WITH GOD,

and to be in union with Him; to talk to, and to be talked to by, Him. And this is not an *impossibility*. The Divine Attributes have never been and cannot be in abeyance. If God spoke to man in days gone by, it is blasphemy even to think that He has become dumb now. On the other hand, if man has once shown the capability of being spoken to by the Most High in ancient days, we have not lost any of the faculties we inherited from Adam.

If the world in its material progress can produce every now and then, say, Newtons, Herschells, and Addisons, where lies the impossibility of seeing Jesuses, Krishnas, and Buddhas again? Are we not endowed with the same constitutions; and does not physical equality demand spiritual equality? That it is possible, we find in the Koran. Nay, we have been given similar promises elsewhere. Did not Jesus, as well as Krishna and Budha, promise their re-appearance? Jesus also explains how this re-appearance will take place. It is not the coming

of the former man, but the appearance of the new with the spiritual semblance of the old. If John the Baptist* was Elias, and we should accept the words of Jesus to be true, the re-appearance of these great men will be in the same way. Therefore, when I pray to God that I may be shown the path, by treading which I may attain what was given to those blessed by Him, it is not kingship or commandership, or any other high worldly position, that I pray for. That is not my ambition. These are ordinary human achievements. A Muslim claims the heritage of the Prophet. The words "Guide us into the right path" in the Muslim prayer are very instructive. We do not beg him to "give" us something, but to guide us; we invoke guidance, and if our prayers meet his acceptance, we are sure to receive inspiration or Divine revelation according to our deserts.

THE TEACHINGS OF ISLAM BASED ON RATIONALITY.

Another special feature of Islam is the rational basis on which it explains all the truths it inculcates. What makes the hold of religion looser and looser on the modern mind? There is a great dearth of such bases. Every religion demands its adherent to believe in certain things as truths—Godhood, angels, revelation, prophethood, the day of judgment, the resurrection, life after death, and our reaping the fruits of our actions in that life, which means heaven or hell. These are the various things taken as truths, and preached in different forms by different religions. We may diverge in our conception of them, but we converge on basic lines. But do we not possess reason? Has not God equipped us with various faculties, and has not His Providence supplied us with means to satisfy their respective cravings? I have feelings, I have passions, but I have also reason. If the cravings of my heart can be satisfied, why curb the demands of my reason? If you gratify my emotional side, why thwart me on my rational side?

* Matt. xi. 14, 17, 21; Mark ix. 12, 13.

The above-mentioned articles of faith have been taught by almost all religions as postulates and axioms ; but how to make them acceptable to a sceptic mind ? In the Koran, however, everything has been explained on a logical basis, and cogent reasons given in proof, with apt illustrations from Nature. Besides, the complete Word of God should not need the advocacy of its followers. Let not the preacher, but the Book itself, explain to me my difficulties. The Book of Islam, however, not only appeals to heart, feelings and sentiments, but also to the mind and reason. The former Scriptures, though of the same Divine origin as the Koran, could not do so, as the people immediately concerned lacked the intellectual development to appreciate truths explained on a rational basis. Jesus had to speak all the things "in parables,"* and without a parable spake He not unto them," because they were "without understanding."†

THE ETHICS OF ISLAM.

Another improvement which the Book of Islam has made on the previous ethical writings of the world is the distinction between the natural qualities of man and his moral conditions. We are equipped with various passions and qualities—such as affection, meekness, mercy, humility, and so forth. But, according to the Koran, they do not fall under the heading of moral conditions, unless they are guided by the dictates of reason and conscience. They are mere natural and instinctive impulses. For instance,* the affection and docility which a dog or a goat, or any other domestic animal, shows towards its master cannot be designated as courtesy or refined manners, nor can the fierceness of a wolf or a lion be classed as rudeness or misbehaviour. "Mere possession of a few qualities which are the outcome of natural impulses does not bring about spiri-

* Matt. xiii. 34.

† Matt. xv. 16.

‡ "Teachings of Islam," by Hazret Mirza Shulam Ahmad of Qadian (Blessed be his soul !).

tual life. For instance, meekness of heart, peace of mind, and avoidance of mischief are only so many natural qualities, and may be possessed even by an unworthy person who is quite ignorant of the true fountain of salvation. Not a few animals are quite harmless, and more sinned against than sinning. When tamed they are not offensive in the least, and being lashed they do not resist. Yet, notwithstanding all this, no one can have the foolishness to call them man—much less as good as man.” A goat is more meek of heart than many a man. Similarly, persons guilty of the blackest deeds sometimes manifest qualities worthy of advanced morality. Robin Hood must rob the rich to feed the poor. Europe, with all her love for dogs and mercy for dumb animals, did not find her humanitarian sense injured by the recent slaughter and strangulation of the various Muslim races. Thus a teacher who reads to us homilies on morals approving certain qualities and belittling others, simply appeals to our natural impulses, which still need moderation and restraint. It is another special feature of Islam that its Holy Book made a distinction between our instinctive cravings and high morals. It did not give us only a list of moral qualities, but showed us the occasion of their use. Do not our actions change in their results with the change of scene and environment? Does not the same action become virtue and evil under diverse conditions? To punish a culprit is simply to show mercy to society. The peace of a community would suffer seriously if at the trial of an offender the magistrate acted according to the wish of the offender. In connection with this I may point out another common mistake of the so-called moralists. The tender qualities, in their opinion, exhaust the whole list of morals, as if our Creator was unwise in endowing us with certain stern qualities—such as anger, vengeance, and jealousy. They should know that it is vengeance which, when properly administered by the magistrate, guarantees protection of life and property, and becomes a necessary virtue. Jealousy or envy, used on a proper occasion, creates

in us high aspirations and actuates us to achieve excellence. To curb these natural propensities is no morality, it is their balanced condition which makes them indispensable national virtues. Hence the Koran does not simply say that charity, courage, justice, mercy, kindness, truth, high-mindedness, are high excellent morals, but it shows that all the other qualities with which man's mind is endowed—such as politeness, modesty, honesty, generosity, jealousy, perseverance, chastity, anger, devoutness, moderation, compassion, sympathy, courage, forgiveness, vengeance, patience, fidelity, etc.—become virtues when they are manifested on their proper occasion. The Holy Book makes mention of all of them, defines their occasions, and shows their right use. It teaches us also the means to be adopted for perfecting these high morals. It may be said here also that as, under the teachings of the Koran, our natural impulses when balanced and properly regulated, are converted into moral qualities, "similarly no hard-and-fast lines can be drawn between the spheres of the moral and the spiritual states." All our conditions—physical, moral, and spiritual—are interwoven and affect each other. No one can achieve a high stage of spirituality without training his physical conditions and moral qualities, hence the necessity of observing the various laws and regulations given in the Koran concerning our daily life. The subject requires complete elucidation, and the time hardly allows it.

WOMAN IN ISLAM.

I am afraid I have already trespassed much upon your courtesy and patience. One word more and I will conclude my paper. It is the raising of the status of woman that Islam claims as amongst its chief merits. Woman was given a position by Islam which she never enjoyed before. She had no distinct individuality until then. Islam came to give her personal rights. Nay, I would go further, and say that the most cultured nations of the present day have

still to make strides to reach that state of civilization which in the words of the Koran would say :*

“ Women have similar rights to men, the same is due from them (women) as to them.”

If she is under certain duties and obligations towards man, he also is under similar obligations and duties towards her. Thus Islam nearly restores equality between man and woman. It opens to her equal possibilities with man of intellectual, moral, and spiritual progress. It gives her a separate and distinct individuality, and raises her from the debasement to which she had been reduced by wrong beliefs and dogmatic tenets based upon ignorance.

* The Koran 2 : 228.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

WHAT HAS BRITAIN DONE FOR INDIA?

By MEHERBAN NARAYANRAO BABASAHIB,
Chief of Inchalkaranji.

WHEN I left India I hardly expected to be invited to address a meeting of the East India Association. I have come here mainly for the sake of my health. I had not, therefore, intended to take an active part with an Association of any kind—not even with such an Association as this, which is rendering very useful service in promoting the interests and welfare of the Indian people generally. This Association seems to me to have been very fortunate in securing for their Lecturers men who have devoted themselves to the study of Indian questions and can speak with authority on them. When, therefore, it was kindly suggested that I should read a paper I hesitated, and hardly thought it possible that I could do so for two reasons: firstly, because under the doctor's orders I had to take things quietly and give myself as much rest as possible; and, secondly, because I feared I could not prepare a paper which would interest you or come up to the high standard of the instructive and learned papers hitherto read before the Association. Although not feeling equal to the task, I nevertheless thought it my duty to accept the invitation so cordially given.

I now propose to tell you what I think about some of the most beneficial results of India's connection with the British Empire. If there is nothing new in what I shall presently say, it will, I hope, at least show you the general trend of

thought of the educated Indian mind at the present moment. By "educated Indian" I mean not only those who have received English education, but all people who are sufficiently educated to understand what is to their advantage, and who have such a permanent interest in the country as to benefit by its general progress and welfare.

During my voyage to England, and since my arrival here, I have been asked whether Indians were really content under British rule or not, and I have been able to answer with confidence in the affirmative. There may be spasmodic or sporadic discontent at times, but there is no widespread or real dissatisfaction with the British Administration. On the contrary, educated Indians and people with any stake in the country sincerely believe that the British connection has conferred upon them many advantages, and that India's union with England is providential and necessary for the advancement and peaceful progress of India's peoples. Then I have been asked what it is that the English have done for India for which the Indian peoples ought to be particularly grateful, and which would, or could, not have been done by the Indians themselves for themselves, or by any other European Power if it had been its fate to rule over the country. This is a most important question, and to get a correct and satisfactory answer to it one must, I think, take a broad view of the whole situation and consider (1) the circumstances prevailing in the country before the advent of the English; (2) what would happen if by any calamity the strong hand of our present rulers were removed for a time from the helm of the ship of state, or (3) what would have been India's lot if she had fallen into the possession of any other Power, or (4) lastly, if by any chance she had been left to her own devices. Then one will be able to realize the good that has resulted from the union, and the progress India has made under British rule. It is human nature to be always fretting about small things, and to forget for the time being the importance of real blessings. I cannot give you a more practical illustration of

this than you find in the daily life of a loving mother and daughter, or a husband and wife. They have often small differences which they are at times inclined to magnify and to assign to incompatibility of temperament. But in calmer moments both realize that the ties that bind them together are too sacred, and the love between them too real, to be affected by such minor incidents of disagreement. Not only this, but their love and mutual sympathy are too genuine to be affected by what may possibly be a real wrong. Thus, even in their worst moments, they do not forget that their interests and welfare are identical. Such is the case with us in India. There may be differences of opinion between the Government and the people, occasional grumblings and a demand for more reform. But it is impossible for us to forget that the interests of Great Britain and India are now identical, and that the union is for the benefit of both the countries. Nothing can now break the ties that bind us to the Empire, and under its ægis alone our national growth and progress will and must continue. I would even go a step further, and say that England could not now divest herself, even if she wished, of the responsibility of keeping the providential trust and helping India in her national progress under *Pax Britannica*.

The distracted condition in which Great Britain found the peoples of India is an historical fact known to all; and we have only to look around us to see what would happen should the strong arm of British protection be now withdrawn, and the nations of India left to the passions of lawless mobs, or to the tender mercies of other races and nations from the North, with no experience of the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of the country generally.

DEPRESSED CLASSES.

I now propose to deal, in my own way, with a few points which will show you the progress we have made in some directions under the British rule, and which, to my mind, would have been impossible to the same extent

under any other circumstances. Let me first take up the question of the depressed classes, to which I personally attach great importance. Caste is the cardinal idea of Hindu society. However, according to some Puranas, there was a time when caste did not practically exist. Later on the people were divided into two classes : the priest and the warrior. A further sub-division brought into existence the Vaisiyas, or traders and agriculturists. It was, however, after the contact with alien races that the Sudras formed a separate class, and those that could not fall under any of the above categories were probably termed Ati-Sudras or Chandalas—*i.e.*, outcastes. Though in the ancient days caste was not divided into airtight compartments, and the divisions were not as numerous as now, still they existed in all their vigour even in the time of Manu. Nobody can tell at this day whether in the natural evolution of society caste would have been modified or altogether abolished, or so multiplied as to hopelessly wreck society. Internal and outside forces have, however, acted from time to time on the caste system in different ways. There were protests even in ancient and medieval times against the pernicious features of this system, especially by Gautama Buddha, and by Basaprabhu, the founder of the Lingayat sect, and by all the saints of India, from Nának in the North-West, Nimai Chaitanya in the North-East, down to the numerous poet-saints of the Southern Dravidian countries. In dealing with a similar phase of activity in the Maharashtra, the late Mr. Justice Ranade has named this upheaval of reformed thought “Hindu Protestantism.” The effect of this movement was to soften the rigour of the caste system, especially in the higher castes ; but the movement was more spiritual than purely social, and its effect on the every-day life was not very great. Buddhism died out from India as a religion, and Sikhism and Lingayatism reverted more or less to the old system of caste observances. The efforts made by the foreigners, such as by bigoted Portuguese and the fanatic

Muhammadans, were towards conversions to their respective faiths, but they did not influence to any great extent the relations created by caste among the non-converted Hindus. As Buddhism greatly influenced the body politic of India in social and religious matters, so also the rule of the Muhammadans and early Christians had their own effect; but it was not a solvent influence, like that of the British Raj. What the Central Asian rulers and one or two European Powers failed to achieve in this respect, the peaceful and powerful rule of the English has secured. The change has been gradual during the last fifty years or so, and several forces have acted to bring it about before the present movement for the amelioration of the depressed classes took a definite shape. The administration of India is generally based on the principle of no distinction between caste, colour, or creed. The equality in the eyes of the law, and the equal opportunities and facilities granted in railways, Government dispensaries, etc., did much to level up the classes into one society. The efforts made by the Brahmo-Samaj, the Arya-Samaj, and Práarthaná-Samaj, and various other quasi-religious bodies in different parts of the country—all these movements the direct result of liberal education introduced by the British Government—and also the direct and indirect efforts of the missionaries, have paved the way for the elevation of the depressed classes. It is more than probable that, if left to ourselves, there would have been no very great advance in this respect. Considering the large number of the depressed classes, every effort to raise their position and make them more useful units of society will add to our general progress, and enlist the sympathy of the social reformer and the educated Indian who has the good of his country at heart. The whole credit of the development of such an important movement is, as I have said before, due to the solvent influence of the British Administration. The change is being wrought, it must be borne in mind, by peaceful and indirect methods, and without any serious

break from the past ; and, if I may coin a phrase, I would describe it as a "passive reform."

FEMALE EDUCATION.

The next point I wish to refer to is the introduction of female education and the general raising of the status of our women. Here, again, let us see for a moment what the condition of our women was before the beginning of the present rule. In our ancient literature we find reference to women sages who had attained a high degree of learning. In subsequent periods we come across women writers and poets. Still, from the fact that classic literature makes a distinction between the Balbhasha, or the colloquial language used by women and illiterate men, and the learned (Sanskrit) language used by men, as represented in the various dramas, it seems that the culture and education of men and women were different. Attempts had been made now and then to improve the status of our women by reformers like the Buddhists. In the Moghul period, too, Akbar, for example, tried to abolish Sati. But these were mere solitary instances. Nothing in this direction was done under the Portuguese or the Muhammadan rule. There is no necessity to discuss here whether the condition of our women before English rule was due to a progress of gradual and national degeneration, or mainly brought about by influences springing from Arab aggression. It is certain that law gave them no equal protection. A wife could not have full control of her own property, which was hers only in name. There was practically no remedy for ill-treatment at the hands of the husband or mother-in-law. No effort was made to improve these conditions by education or social reform. It was chiefly owing to the gradual recognition of the equality of the sexes and by the liberal facilities afforded for the education of our girls during the last few years of British rule that the social status of our women was raised. Already the results of female education are noticeable, and our women have begun to take an

active and useful part in social and other matters. They hold their annual conferences and exhibitions of handicraft in connection with them. They have started and conducted societies like the Seva Sadan, Mahila Samaj, and others in different parts of the country. The progress may not be anything to be compared with the state of things in Western countries, where the standard of education is already high, and where life has become very strenuous. But the progress we have made would have been impossible if we had been left to work out the problem ourselves, or if we had been under a less civilized and liberal-minded Government. One can find several instances of Eastern people who have been in close contact with European civilization for many centuries and have self-government; but they have not been able to make even as much progress in this respect as we have done during a comparatively short time. I am not taking into consideration here the changed circumstances in Turkey, which have yet to prove their permanence and usefulness. Forming, as the women do, nearly half the population of our country, their education and the raising of their status are bound to be a valuable asset to our social and material progress. In this connection it is very pleasing to note the efforts made by the English men and women, both official and non-official. I must say, however, that much more could be done, especially by European ladies, if they really wish to put forward their best efforts to come in contact with Indian ladies, and that according to Indian ways and in Indian surroundings. It would not be possible to advance rapidly, if it is expected that Indians should largely conform to the European mode of thought and manner of living. Europeans must, if they want to be effective in their method, mix with Indians in the atmosphere of the Indians, and not expect the latter, in order to join the Europeans, to leave their surroundings and manners that seem natural to them. If each English lady in India kindly tried to influence and educate but a small circle of Indian women around her, a large body of people

could be approached easily and successfully. As it would be some time before early marriage could be stopped in India, this is the only sure and easy means of educating young Indian women.

LIBERAL EDUCATION.

I have alluded above to one feature of the general educational policy of the Government, and I now propose to consider the subject in a general way. Education is at the root of all progress, and without a system of liberal education in all its branches, no nation can hope to advance in any respect. Surely we have reason to be proud of our ancient literature and civilization! and there have been in the later periods of our history patrons of learning like Asoka, Harsh Bhoj, the Kings of Vijayanagar, and others. But there were no equal opportunities for all classes of society for higher education. Higher education was, so to say, monopolized by the highest classes. The military training was practically open to one class only. As regards the low castes, they were not allowed so much as to listen to the sacred language, and to intrude into religious mysteries was supposed to be a crime to be dealt with very severely. The Srnrritis and Puranas are full of allusions to this fact. Then, again, the Muhammadan rulers had, besides the sacred Koran (a noble work in itself), only a few Persian works to teach. Our vernaculars also did not possess any literature to speak of except books on religion or philosophy. During the last seven or eight centuries, when there was no stability in the country, a steady, peaceful effort for any sustained reform was impossible. It was only after the government of the country passed into the hands of our present rulers that a system of liberal education was evolved. Whatever faulty notions Lord Macaulay may have entertained about the ancient Hindu literature and philosophy, his name will always be associated with the liberal policy of education now in existence in the country, and which has produced excellent results in many respects. English education gave

us a common tongue, and made intercourse among the different provinces possible, and gave us an opportunity to unite into one people under a common Government. It gave us a wider outlook. It opened to us the treasures of Western literature, history, arts, and sciences. It showed us how backward we were in some important respects. We have come to realize more and more our wants and our responsibilities. This consciousness, which is the direct outcome of the liberal education we have received, stirred us to action, and we have steadily progressed all round during the last half century. For comparison's sake, I may refer here to the conditions prevailing in the Dutch East Indies which I visited last year. Though the Dutch have been in possession of Java for the last three centuries, it is only recently that the rulers have begun to teach the Dutch language to the natives, and scarcely any facilities have been afforded for the higher education of the native races. There is provision for higher education of Europeans only in Java, and many of them go to Holland to complete their training. But I was surprised to hear that only one Javanese had gone to Holland for study up till now. A large number of Indians, on the other hand, come to this country every year for education, and enjoy almost equal facilities for receiving it. This is a contrast which one must bear in mind if one is to realize the liberal-mindedness of our rulers in their educational policy, and the debt of gratitude we owe them in this respect.

EDUCATION OF THE ARISTOCRACY.

While on this subject I may briefly allude to the question of military training. The Imperial Cadet Corps Institution has given facilities for a military training to the loyal and deserving sons of the aristocracy. The opportunity was denied for a long time, and the aristocracy always felt the want of an honourable military career for themselves. I had the honour of being one of the deputation which waited upon H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught when he retired

from the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Presidency. He then expressed his sympathy with the idea of the establishment of a Sandhurst College in India, but nothing of the sort happened till the time of Lord Curzon to whom the credit is due of making a beginning in the matter. This very important branch of study in a nation's life is not now denied to the Indians, and I hope the facilities will, in due course of time, be largely increased. The Cadet Corps is a cautious and a small beginning in this respect ; still, it shows the general trend of British policy and the liberal instincts of the British people. In this connection I may also mention the efforts made to provide for the education of the sons of the Indian chiefs and nobles. Though empires after empires have come and gone in India, it was not possible to devise means of getting together all the hopes of the princely and aristocratic houses regarding education. Even an attempt in that direction would have been an impossibility. Whatever education could possibly be given was obtained in the rough and ready school of a military campaign and the actual work of governance. "Commit mistakes and learn wisdom" was the rule. If, however, one has to seek for a parallel to a Rajkumar College, one must go back to the ancient days of Pandwas and Kanravas, when the sons of the ruling families were brought together under one Guru for their education. It, however, was the custom in ancient India for the sons of kings and nobles to go to the hermitages of Rishis to receive their education, and these were a sort of public school for the time, where young Aryans gathered together for their education. It is well known how harmful it is for the sons of a ruler to be brought up in a Court atmosphere. It was owing to the firm and tactful treatment of the Government in the matter that any success has been achieved on this head. If things had been left to ourselves, nothing whatever would have been done in an organized manner, and all India, and especially India under native rule, owe a debt of gratitude to the British in this respect. No doubt there are great

difficulties in the way, and the principal of these lies in the students themselves ; but I hope, now that the education of this class has been successfully taken in hand, the Government will not rest satisfied with the inadequate foundation that is now given them to fit them for the very important positions they may be called upon to fill, but will try to make these institutions ideal ones in liberal and higher education.

POLITICAL EDUCATION.

Side by side with this general education we are being trained to take a share in the administration of our own country. The Local and District Boards, the Municipalities and the Legislative Councils, are the best schools for training by gradual stages in the art of self-government. Here, again, we find no parallel in our history, or, for the matter of that, in the history of the world, where the governing nation has encouraged the subject races to study and practise the art of self-government. If anything was done, it was to prevent them from acquiring any knowledge of any branch of administration or executive work. No doubt the Muhammadan rulers entrusted responsible offices to loyal and competent individuals from the subject races, and the Hindus did the same towards the Muhammadans ; but there was nothing like that general political education which forms part of the British policy. The Portuguese were the worst sinners in this respect, because they gave no opening of any sort to those who were not Christians. Local self-government and the Legislative Councils were, to the best of my knowledge, granted to the people of India before there was any organized demand for them. There has been a steady growth of our Municipalities and Local Boards, and the Legislative Councils were only recently enlarged with a view to give the representatives of the people a greater voice in shaping the policy of the Administration, and exercising an indirect control over its working. I have been a member of the Bombay Legislative Council for many years past, and have worked both in the old and new

Councils. The enlarged Councils have made distinct progress, and the principle of election and non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, introduced for the first time, will be of immense value. Some people wished the reform to go farther, but I am inclined to think it is sufficient for our present needs, and we shall take a few more years to assimilate it and be able to use these additional powers to the best advantage. Then certainly it will be necessary to make a further advance. The educational efforts of these institutions is, to my mind, more valuable than the actual work turned out by them. Our progress must necessarily be slow. A democratic Government merely grafted on a people whose history, traditions, and national characteristics are different, does not insure progress. We have in India French and Portuguese possessions which have a Republican Government, but, excepting the right of electing a representative to their national assemblies—which is, in its own way, valuable—the people there are hardly better off in the matter of local self-government—at least, we have no reason to envy them. The political education we are receiving at the hands of our rulers will have far-reaching results in our growth as a nation, and as time goes on it will make us fit to take a more really responsible part in the administration of our country, and in fulness of time we may hope to take a proper place in the Empire.

Foreign Europeans, I find, are often struck with the spectacle in India of so many places of trust and responsibility in the Government being held by the natives of the soil. No doubt it is very true that Indians, with some justification, aspire to a due share with Britishers in the higher billets in the public service of their own country, but it cannot be denied that all the lesser appointments are almost exclusively manned by Indians themselves, and this seems to be quite distinct from the state of things prevailing in European countries, in cases where a foreign domination obtains. Places of such description are rarely held by men of the non-dominant races. In this connection both

the rulers and the ruled must be congratulated on the state of things that exists in India, and this recognition of the rights of the children of the soil conduces to the benefit of the country and its people.

FAMINE POLICY.

One more point I would allude to in passing is with regard to the famine policy in India. The methods employed as a result of experiences of famine in India to cope with the calamity are really very admirable. It is not possible to give relief to every individual for the loss he sustains through the failure of crops. There is often scarcity in one or other parts of the country; but the Government have always an organization ready to deal with them, and the machinery could be set to work at a moment's notice whenever a scarcity or a famine is expected. Spasmodic efforts were made in past ages to mitigate the suffering, but there were never any organized methods in this respect. It is inadvisable to make a comparison without definite knowledge, but it seems in Russia and other countries there is probably no settled famine policy. In Java and other Dutch islands it rains throughout the year, and there is no danger of a famine. One famine is, however, remembered there still. It was not due to any failure of rains or to pestilence or destruction of crops, but because people were deprived of the opportunity to sow their crops, owing to some public works that were being carried out by forced labour. Then, again, in Native States, which are equally exposed to the danger of a scarcity or famine, there cannot be seen that sustained effort and power of organization to give relief which animates the famine policy of the Government, and they have also not sufficient funds to meet the expenses. The railways and canals have done much to reduce the severity of famines, but the ever-ready machinery of the Government for giving relief to the famine-stricken parts shows the power of excellent organization, and the high mind and liberal instincts of our rulers. Though famine has not been such

a constant visitor in India recently, it was never in the history of India so methodically or so successfully repressed as now.

It is not necessary for me, I think, to tell the audience here that the people of my country have confidence in their rulers, and also look to them for raising them to a state of competency, when they can reasonably hope to take their proper place among the nationalities of the world. If there were no confidence in the stability and honest intentions of Government, people would certainly not have put the vast amount of labour and capital that they have put in agricultural pursuits over the vast expanse of the Indian Continent. I think this must have been the only period in our history when this industry was so flourishing over the whole surface of the country. Then look at the large amount of capital invested in commerce and in other industries. At no other time has so much capital and labour been employed in these activities, or such large sums invested in Postal Savings Banks and other banks conducted by both Indians and Europeans. Then, again, all the activities of the several political and social and educational bodies work for the betterment of the country or of certain sections, and are based on the all-pervading confidence in the permanence of the British connection, and in the good intentions of Government towards the people. The Indian National Congress and the several conferences would not have cared to waste time, money and energy in their deliberations if they were not sure of the liberal instincts of Government and their interest in the advancement of India.

In the very historic speeches that the King-Emperor delivered in India he commanded his Indian subjects to "educate, unite and hope." This exactly is the attitude of the educated mind in India. Their efforts are now directed towards educating the people and in trying to unite the various peoples of India into one nation, and they hope that Great Britain will be true to her own liberal instincts.

SUMMING UP.

You will perhaps be surprised that I have chosen only a few apparently minor points in order to show you the credit side of the British Administration, and that I have altogether omitted the numerous important phases of our progress all round during the last fifty or sixty years. The omission was due not to a want of proper appreciation of these advantages, but to the fact that they are patent to everybody who cares to know the good the English rule has done to India. An unbroken peace, and a just, liberal and enlightened Government are exactly the conditions which assist the moral and material progress of the country. However important our progress in these respects may be, one is likely to attribute it to those favourable conditions under which we live. I have therefore taken for my subject only a few of the points which to my mind constitute the unique features of the British rule.

What I want to convey is this. If India had been left undisturbed by any European influence, it would not, in all likelihood, have made any advance in the matter of civilization beyond its old groove. Some foreign domination had become inevitable at some time or other, because we see that, from the Aryan conquest onwards, almost all who came to India, either by sea or by land, could easily establish themselves there. So if not the English, either the Portuguese, French, Dutch, or the all-absorbing Russian, would have been now in possession of India. Then, again, all these Powers have now Eastern Colonies, some of them closely connected with our dominions in India, and when we compare their rule in the Colonies with that of India, we at once see the great beneficial progressive influences at work under the rule of the liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon race. Though France is a Republic and Portugal had constitutional government until recently and is now a Republic, their administration in their Indian possessions cannot for a moment be compared with that of our Government. These Powers came to the Indian Continent and failed to establish

themselves permanently, owing to their short-sighted policies, self-seeking avarice, and some other faults. My trip to Java last year, though short and hurried, was a great eye-opener to me. At one glance it showed what another European nation engaged in doing the same task under a similar set of circumstances, and in another Eastern country, that has an old civilization of its own, has been doing for the betterment of their charge, compared with what the Englishmen are doing for India. The visit further proved to me that if the Aryan domination had continued to this day in India, the caste system and the facilities for higher education would have remained somewhat the same as they are to be seen to-day in the Dutch East Indies—viz., the higher castes monopolizing everything, and leaving the rest of society in servile subjection. In justice to the Dutch people, I must say that they are now trying to improve their system gradually and putting it on the Anglo-Indian model.

The Central Asian nations that poured from time to time into India across the North-West Passes were, with a few exceptions, unable to advance the cause of civilization in any material degree. They were often not in any way better than the inhabitants overrun by them. Then, again, a third set of probable circumstances remains to be examined —viz., India under self-government and in close contact with Europe. In my humble opinion here, too, there was no very great hope. Except perhaps Japan, no Eastern nation has taken any serious heed of what is going on in the bordering States around them. The Turks, Moors, Egyptians, Persians, Burmese, Siamese, Nepalese and Kambodians, and a host of other small and great Eastern nations have shown no very great adaptability to engraft Western civilization upon their own. Wherever they have come in close contact with the West, they have more or less succumbed to them rather than progressed or even held their own. Even at the present day in India, where the administration, whether in a Native State or a local body, as the Municipality, is entirely left to Indian devices, very often it does

not prove a great blessing to the people. It seems from this that "local self-government in the concrete" is not yet much appreciated by anybody, and we still require a strong, liberal, civilized, progressive Government for a long time to come to guide our destinies. In fact, as I said at the beginning, the British connection with India is the only sure and certain hope of the country's peaceful and real progress, and our prosperity and welfare could not have been committed to better hands. But there are people who think that India has not advanced as much as it ought under a civilized Government like the English, and certain legitimate aspirations have been created among the educated classes owing to the liberal education given to us and our daily increasing contact with the movements of the outside world, which have caused genuine discontent in certain respects. With the creation of aspirations and a sincere desire for reform, discontent was quite natural to a certain extent; it is even a sign of progress. So also there may be differences of opinion, which are inevitable. But no one can question the loyalty of the Indian people and their sense of deep gratitude for the many benefits conferred upon them by the British Government. The Indian people are by tradition and instinct loyal and law-abiding, and those who witnessed the genuine outburst of loyal feelings towards their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress on the occasion of their royal progress through India in the winter of 1911 need no other proof of our loyalty and attachment to the Throne and the Empire.

One would wonder, after all I have said above, why an unfavourable impression about British administration has gained ground both in England and in India. This arises partly from the fact that some section of the educated people give undue prominence to their views as to the shortcomings of the Administration, and fail to draw adequate attention to their thoughts regarding its beneficial and strong points, even when this might be expected from them as a matter of fairness and courtesy. There seems to

be a belief in the minds of some people, and a very real one too, that Government stands in no need of praise at their hands; that such praise might be regarded as sycophancy. On the other hand, people over here give too much prominence to this criticizing phase of Indian expression of opinion, and even take too seriously and make too much of unreasoning criticism and carping discontent. This sort of talk ought to be treated with a certain amount of intelligent indifference. I am often pained to see Durbars being held to solemnly denounce sedition and its ways, even in localities where anything like seditious movement is very little known or hardly heard of. This simply operates as an advertisement of a thing that ought to be ignored in the locality.

I have tried above to show you a few important items on the credit side of British rule. Here I may be asked whether there is not also a debit side to this account. Well, every account has a debit side also, but it is not my purpose to-day to discuss the debit side in this connection. It may be true that we have had to make certain sacrifices for the benefits derived from the present Government. It may also be said that our ancient liberty is gone; but many of our nationalities had lost their liberties long before the coming of the English, and had to suffer great sacrifices even then. The most important difference lies in the fact that whereas we got previously no return for the sacrifices made by us, the advantages of the British rule have been so great that they have given us a more than equivalent return for all we had to forego. Everyone should bear this point in mind whenever he is inclined to look to the debit side of the present rule. To give an illustration from every-day life, I might say that it is always a thing to be desired that you should not have occasion to consult a doctor for your health. But, unfortunately, when you have to do so, you must consult the best man and pay the best fees, and abide by the treatment he prescribes, whether it is unpalatable to you and curtails your activities

or not. If you want to recuperate, you must undergo some temporary discomfort, and you should thank God that you have a chance of relief at all and that you escape so lightly.

I may here, in passing, remark that Great Britain has also received some benefits from its connection with India. That is also not the topic of to-day's discourse. I may, however, just say that the West has derived a very material benefit from its contact with the East, and especially with India. What happened to Rome through its connection with Greece may again take place in Europe through its contact with India, especially in the matter of Eastern philosophy and arts.

CONCLUSION.

Before concluding my remarks I should like to say a few words with respect to the lines on which I venture to think the advance should continue to proceed. I used to read in India about the varied activities of the Western people, and the several difficult social and political problems that confront them at the present moment, and since my arrival in Europe I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears a little of these things. The life of the people here is always one of rush and frenzied activity. Not only that, strikes, lock-outs, demonstrations, agitation, terrorism and such things, seem to be the order of the day, and one is led to think that discontent (with the present state of things) exists everywhere. No change of any importance can take place in any department of life and circumstances unless there is a strong and sustained fight for it. In fact, no one seems to know where things are drifting to. This is the state of peoples who stand foremost in modern civilization. The phenomenon is so bewildering, that the more I think about it the more I begin to doubt whether man's true happiness does consist more in seeking for a change, and in creating new wants and then supplying them, than in the Oriental ideal of peace, contentment, and division of labour on very broad lines, according to caste and sex. It is rather difficult to come to a decision in this

matter. To a person like myself, brought up in Oriental ideas and surroundings, it seems doubtful whether the ideas of progress and civilization in the West would bring in the millennium, or would lead to the ideal happiness of society. If the Oriental doctrines of contentment and passive submission and fatalism have driven us to one extreme, the Western nations seem to be going to the other, and one does not know whether the solution of the problem does not lie in the golden mean. Whatever the correct explanation of the present state of circumstances and the results to which they are likely to lead may be, I should think it worth while for the Indian Administration to pause for a moment and think out the problem in all its aspects, and then to act. I have come here to learn, and not to teach, and if I have taken the liberty of alluding to the present world-wide discontent, it is because I desire that our advance and progress in India should proceed on lines which would suit our ideals of life and the past traditions of hundreds of years, and not exactly on those which are supposed to have achieved the modern civilization of Western countries.

A SUGGESTION.

I believe this will be my first and last opportunity of addressing a British audience, and it would not be amiss if I avail myself of the opportunity of making a suggestion for the consideration of the philanthropic and patriotic people of this great country. In times of calamity, like famine, earthquakes, etc., they have rendered generous help to suffering humanity. Along with some European and American countries, they have done and are doing an evangelical work by sending out to India a body of most zealous and devoted missionaries. These have started institutions for literary and technical education, and have done splendid work in giving medical relief by well-equipped hospitals and dispensaries. But we must remember that in all the charitable and earnest work of the missionaries there is always at the back the idea of

conversion, which I must frankly tell the people here is looked upon even now with great suspicion, and which does not add in any way to the popularity of the Government. And, moreover, we must remember that man appreciates more the help given him for his wants and comforts in this world than in the next. What I want to suggest is that some portion of this flow of philanthropy and of the funds that may be collected to start fresh missionary work should be directed for some material purposes, and spent in organizing institutions for technical and commercial education, free libraries, moral and social instruction, tending to the material and moral elevation of the inhabitants of this great Empire. When in the West there are those ready to constitute associations for the prevention of cruelty to animals and for the preservation of races and species, surely something similar could be attempted in India for the elevation of the nation !

It is a well-known fact that if the Indian National Congress had not been worked in its initial stages by a band of devoted and liberal-minded Englishmen, it could not have taken such an organized form and done its work so well—in fact, it would probably have ceased to exist long ago. Then, again, the splendid work the Central Hindu College and the Aligarh College are doing is also to a large extent due to the organizing forces and supervision of skilled Europeans. Officials can do much in India, but they have not the time, the energy, and the opportunity to do everything. This the new lay missionaries would do, and it is, above all, the missionary spirit that in the end succeeds. Then, again, if there were a body of English men and women in the country, not either as tax collectors or judges ready to punish every breach of the law, or as missionaries ever ready to run down our religions and wean our children from us, but a body of men making themselves at home in the country for the purpose of assisting the people, they would form a great tower of strength to Government, and be a means of solace and comfort to all

the people. They would be the best interpreters of the wishes of the people to the Government and the intentions of the rulers to the governed. They would greatly help the rulers and the ruled to understand each other, and to bridge over the gulf between the East and the West. As it is, the European official body in India have no time to devote to social intercourse to the extent required, even if they wished to do so, and I think it is not possible in India for the governing authorities to come in very close contact with the governed people with any very great advantage to either of them. I am speaking, of course, of very intimate and really friendly intercourse on terms of absolute equality, and not the sort of formal relations, though excellent in themselves so far as they go, that we observe in India. The missionaries to a certain extent fulfil this object, but this could be much better accomplished by laymen. We often come across men with very great sympathy for the people, wielding immense influence over them, being, so to say, worshipped by them. If there could be many more such people they would prove to be good guides to us, and our progress would be rapid under their direction.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the honour of addressing you this evening, and for your patient hearing. I know I have not told you anything new, but I hope that the light in which I have tried to place before you my thoughts regarding the few important points of the British Administration may be deemed to be worthy of your notice. Before resuming my seat, I again thank you for the honour you have done me, and wish every success to your Association in its efforts for progress and reform in my country, and I shall feel amply repaid for my labour if it in any way strengthens and stimulates the kindly interest and fellowship you feel for India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

AT a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, June 23, 1913, a paper was read by Meherban Narayanrao Babasahib, the Chief of Inchalkaranji, entitled "What has Britain done for India?" The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., The Right Hon. Sir Joseph West Ridgeway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., The Ranisaheb of Inchalkaranji, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Mr. R. C. C. Carr, I.C.S., Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. H. O. D. Harding, Mr. F. H. Barrow, Mr. K. S. Jassawalla, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. A. Burmon, Mr. O. F. Oertel, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. and Mrs. W. Corfield, Mr. D. A. Nandgavkar, Mr. S. Hadwyn, Mr. Khurdad Rustomji, Dr. A. D. Pollen, Colonel Cadell, Mr. A. S. A. Westropp, Mr. H. Bodley, Dr. Heron, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Mr. J. S. Cotton, Mrs. Walter Lang, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mrs. Gillilan, Mr. M. B. Tyabji, I.C.S., Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. M. C. Mallik, Mr. A. Nundy, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. White, Captain and Mrs. Lang, Mr. Joshi, Dr. Desai, Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, Colonel Evatt, C.B., Mr. Reginald Murray, Mr. C. S. Campbell, I.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. Westbrook, Mr. G. R. S. Mead, Mr. and Mrs. Dube, Mrs. Swaminadhan, Miss Massey, Mr. and Mrs. Otto Rothfeld, Miss Victoria Drummond, Miss Ethel Beale, Mr. Robert de Bruce, Mr. M. Shafi, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Dr. Mills, Lieutenant-Colonel Phillott, Mrs. Wilson, Mr. P. C. Tarapore, Miss Isett, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Miss Johnson, Mr. Joseph Breck, Miss Wade, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

LORD REAY: Ladies and gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in introducing to you the Chief of Inchalkaranji. This is a memorable occasion, because it is the first time that we have been favoured with a paper from one of the leading members of the Indian aristocracy, for many years a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay. I will not anticipate your

judgment of the lecture, but I am sure when you have heard the paper, which I have read, you will agree with me that it would be difficult to put in better form the distinguishing features of English rule in India, and coming from so well-qualified and distinguished a person as the Chief of Inchalkaranji, it is a matter of great satisfaction that he gives so decisive a verdict in favour of our administration. I now call on the Chief to address you.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, then read his paper.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said: It was an admirable paper, and he had listened to it with the liveliest pleasure. It was in every way quite an exceptionally excellent paper for the fulness and intimacy and admirable arrangement of its information, the logical development of its argument, and the sanity and hard-headed intelligence and sincerity of the views and opinions it enunciated and enforced, and the aspirations by which it was inspired. It was impossible to exaggerate the magnitude and the beneficence of the services that England had rendered to India, and they could never be adequately acknowledged, whether in word or by deed, and only by devout thankfulness toward Almighty God. But it was unfortunate that from first to last Englishmen in India had been so insistent in remodelling everything in the public administration, the social life, the agriculture, industries, and the arts, and religions of India to their own English standards of perfection. He would confine himself to two most homely illustrations of this ineradicable egotism of theirs, and simply because they had both come under his direct observation in connection with his duties under the Government of Bombay, and later at the India Office. Rice, which is simply the Tamil *arisi*, through the Arabic *aruz*, Greek *orusa*, Latin *oryza*, Italian *riso*, and French *riz*, is a native of Southern India, where 700 varieties of the grain are recognized, indicating an antiquity of cultivation going farther back into prehistoric antiquity than even the cultivation of the date-tree in Mesopotamia and Egypt, in which latter country about 200 varieties of its fruit are known. We may rely upon it, therefore, that the people of India know best how to cultivate rice and to prepare it for their own food, within the latitudes and longitudes of the Indian peninsula. But no! and because the Americans succeeded in growing a larger grained—*i.e.*, a more starchy and less nutritious—rice in Carolina, and in dehusking it more thoroughly, and so again rendering it less nutritious, simply because it was larger grained and more snowy white, we insisted in introducing the experimental cultivation of Carolina rice into India, this irritating the native agriculturists for no profit for anyone concerned with the experiment; and long before that to abolishing from our dinner-tables the *ubala-chaval* of India—that is, rice already half-boiled in the husk, and then dried and dehusked, and boiled over again before being served up at meals. It is the most nutritious form in which rice can be eaten; this *ubala-chaval* also having a most palatable flavour, giving to curries, when taken with it, an added zest, worthy of the banquets of the gods. To-day *ubala-chaval* would appear to be eaten only by the poorest and lowest castes of the Hindus; for the other day, in a room full of educated Indian gentlemen and ladies not one knew what I meant by *ubala-chaval*. Again, Indian tobacco—*i.e.*, American tobacco

grown in India, contains a larger proportion of nicotine than any variety of American tobacco, as cultivated by Europeans in Cuba, etc. But when he submitted a number of samples of Indian tobacco to some of the best tobacco brokers in England, they all condemned it on the ground that it would never pay to offer such tobacco for sale in England, as the profit in the sale of tobacco—*i.e.*, American tobacco—was really made on the 60 per cent. of water its cabbagy leaves contained! One of the brokers wound up his report by saying: “In short, you have secured a gorilla—what you have to do now is to make a man of him”—that is, put 60 per cent. of water into our Indian tobacco! He gave these two experiences of his own as a parable; and “he who hath ears to hear let him hear!” This applied to our whole activities in the way of naturalizing Western civilization into India, even the Christian religion. He fully recognized that the Christian religion was the purest in the world; but he also recognized that we should never know it in its sincerest and highest development until it had been embraced by the Hindus; and that they must be left very much to themselves to work out their spiritual salvation through it, as the Catholic missionaries in India have from the first understood.

The only criticism he had to make on the paper was with respect to the spelling of the name of the Chief Sahib's State in the form of Ichalkaranji. Surely it should be in the form of Inchalkaranji. He was himself almost “native-born” of the State, and he had always heard it named Inchalkaranji—that is, “the Land of the *Carissa Carandas* (*inchal*, *kartundi*, or *karanda*) and *Pongamia glabra* (*karanj*),” the former one of the loveliest shrubs of the eastward slopes of the Western Ghats, west of Kholapur and Belgaum; and the latter one of the handsomest trees throughout the Western Ghats, and a marked feature of the littoral of the Konkans. Most of the place-names along the Ghat slopes are derived from the plant physiognomy of the neighbourhood, the name of Belgaum, his own birth-place, meaning “Bambu Town”; so that he always regarded the Bambu as his own “Tree of Life,” and the Ghat-praba (a tributary of the Kistna) as his own “River of Life.” With reference to the delightful allusion of the Chief Sahib to mothers-in-law, it would amuse all present to learn that one of the local native names of the weirdly twisted and truculently thorny “Mad Acacia” (*Acacia farnesiana*, Dryden's “Cassie, sweet to smell”) is “Mother-in-Law.”

COLONEL YATE said that all would welcome the sympathy, the kindly spirit, and the earnestness with which the lecturer had dealt with his subject. He was especially glad to see the lecturer's sympathetic reference to the Imperial Cadet Corps, which was giving facilities for a military training to the sons of the aristocracy. Those who had seen that corps at their duty would fully appreciate the value of the work done by those cadets in India. He would like to see many young men in India qualified by training and education to take their place by the side of officers in the army, and to be put in this respect on a par and equality with their brother British officers, and the Imperial Cadet Corps was an excellent method of bringing that reform about. There was a great opening for properly trained Indian

officers in all the Imperial Service troops, and he hoped the number of cadets to be trained in India would be largely increased.

Secondly, the lecturer had referred to the aspirations of Indians for what he called "the higher billets in the public service." Well, they had only to look through the Civil List of all the various provinces so see what an enormous number of appointments were now held by Indians; all the lesser appointments, as the lecturer had said, were almost exclusively held already by Indians, and the higher appointments were also being held by an increasing number. Indians were gradually acquiring the right sort of training, and they would see that number largely increased year by year.

Then on the question of famine policy, they all sympathized with what was said in the paper. It was absolutely true to say that in no country in the world was famine so methodically or so successfully controlled as it now was in India. The paper contrasted the position of India in this respect with various other countries, and India stood out *par excellence* as the best in all the world. The paper contained another great tribute to the stability and honest intentions of the British Government, and the consequent flourishing agriculture and the large amount of capital invested in commerce and industries under the *ægis* of the English administration. He thought all would agree that without the help of England India could not stand, and though he could not say that without the help of India England could not stand, he would say that with the help of India England was vastly strengthened, and he looked forward to seeing India, with the help of England, taking a very large share in the Imperial question at no distant date.

The lecturer had referred to the Eastern colonies in the possession of other European powers, such as France and Portugal in India and the Dutch in Java, and had contrasted the administration there with that of the English in India. He had described his visit to Java as "a great eye-opener."

One thing he would like to see, and that was that it were possible for more Indians to take a trip to other Asiatic countries which were under the dominion of other European powers, so that they might contrast the rule of places, for instance, like Java with the rule of the English in India. As the lecturer had said, it would be an eye-opener for them. The more they travelled about, the better it would be for them, and he advised all who got the chance to visit Persia, Turkey, and other neighbouring countries as well.

As to the social intercourse of the official the lecturer raised a very difficult question. Under the conditions of work existing, it was very difficult for officials to take much part in social intercourse; they had neither the time nor the opportunity. He admitted that the more the British people got to know the Indians, and the greater the intercourse between the two, the better it would be, but it was impossible to blame the official; his official duties as a rule did not permit it, and as the lecturer had said, "the European official body in India have no time to devote to social intercourse to the extent required."

I join most heartily in thanking the lecturer for his excellent paper.

MR. THORBURN thought they might take the lecturer as a good

exemplar of what England had done for India, and Keir Hardie himself, had he been present, would have been, like Pontius Pilate, almost persuaded to become a—patriot! Without us how could the lecturer have acquired his habit of enlightened observation, his love of instructive travel, and his powers of graceful and precise expression in our difficult language? (Laughter.) The admirable paper read by the Babasahib demonstrated the advantages, material and moral, which we had conferred upon India—material upon all India, and moral upon those sections of its many peoples who were endowed with natural intelligence and sufficient means to be above daily want, and having an aptitude for acquiring knowledge had taken advantage of the opportunities afforded them. Unfortunately, however, he was very much inclined to think that our system of civil administration, including in that term education, had been to a certain extent a failure. To put it shortly, we had advantaged certain sections of the Indian community to such an extent that we had enabled them to exploit for their own benefit the poor and ignorant many. Until we educated the masses in India, and put them in a position to be able to protect their own interests and to fight their own battles on equal terms with those we have advantaged, he did not think we could fold our hands, survey our work, and say with Jehovah on the sixth evening of the Creation, “Behold, it is very good !”

MR. MALLICK thought it was a good sign of the times, and a happy omen, when a nobleman of India should come forward to take such an interest in public affairs. That was one of the great boons of Britain's connection with India; the want of a dutiful aristocracy had brought about the decline and downfall of Aryan India, and if British rule could create a dutiful and cultured aristocracy it would be the first step towards making India a worthy part of the Empire. When they had got that, then it would be time enough to talk of democracy and self-government. As regarded the general thesis of the lecture there would be no difference of opinion amongst reasonable men; there would be only two types of men who would take exception to the lecturer's conclusions: (1) The individual who, though quite unable to help to introduce social reforms into India, thought it could get on without Britain's help and guidance; and (2) the reactionary type of individual, who did his utmost to undo the policy of those great statesmen who founded and consolidated British rule in India. As a matter of fact, those great statesmen knew nothing of racial or religious distinctions; Europeans in India generally had, under the old policy, no more voice in the government of the country than the Indians. Reference had been made as to the honesty of British rule in India, and British rule had been compared with the rule in Moslem times, for instance; but he did not think it a great compliment to British rule to compare it in that way. Finally, he was of opinion that there was no more chance of British rule ceasing in India than there was of British rule ceasing in Ireland! Inestimable as had been the boons conferred by this country upon India, and, to a certain extent, upon Britain by India, the greatest boons had yet to come, for which the foundations had been laid, and those boons were to make Indians proud of being British citizens, and to bind the divers classes and creeds of the Empire owning allegiance to the

Crown in mutual respect, toleration and sympathy, so that the Empire of Britain might be the dominant factor in advancing human happiness in the world. (Hear, hear.)

MR. COLDSTREAM said that, as the first occasion on which they had had from one of the aristocracy of India a paper bearing on the Imperial rule of Britain in India, it seemed to him to be an epoch-making lecture; he could conceive the paper being referred to hereafter as a *locus classicus*. He hoped someone would at a future date, as suggested by the last speaker, give them a paper on the question of what benefits England had derived from her connection with India.

He had only one criticism of the paper to make, and that was with regard to the view taken of Christian missions in India. As a humble supporter of those missions he thought there might be, underlying the Rajah's estimate of Christian missionary work, the idea that the Government was connected with missionary effort. There was absolutely no connection between the two; the missionary body was absolutely independent of Government. Government officers uphold the neutral position towards religions guaranteed by the Charter of Indian Administration—the proclamation of our late beloved Empress, Queen Victoria.

The use of political influence for the spread of the faith was absolutely opposed to the genesis of Christianity. Christian missions were sent to all non-Christian countries, and were sent forth, not by Government, but by private societies which have absolutely no connection with Government, and to which, as societies for preaching Christianity, Government contributes no funds whatever.

What the Government does for missionary societies is to help their *educational* efforts, and this Government is ready to do for any Hindu or Muhammadan effort benefiting the people from an educational point of view.

LORD LAMINGTON said that it was exceedingly satisfactory to hear that British rule in India had accomplished so much, as indicated by the lecturer. He was quite confident that there was no administration in the world, now or ever, that had such a high standing as that which obtained in India; there were mistakes of course, but for strict integrity and an honest desire to benefit the people of India there could be no comparison with any other Government that had ever existed. That was one clear reason why they were entitled to remain in India; so long as they felt certain that India could not combine in one great whole to resist aggression from outside we should remain there. That seemed to him to be the test. When the day came that India as an Empire had that cohesion and was able to defend herself, then he believed that the time had come when the British *aegis* should be withdrawn.

With regard to the question of social intercourse between officials and Indians, as had been stated, there was very little leisure time for that, and it was asking a great deal of human nature to suppose they would ever establish an absolutely frank and free camaraderie between the two races. He was, however, confident that the officials in India had one desire, and that was to establish friendly and sympathetic relations between himself and

those who came under his jurisdiction. He congratulated the lecturer on his interesting and well-thought-out address.

LORD REAV: You will agree with me that this has been a most memorable meeting. I only demur to one remark in the paper, and that is when the Chief of Inchalkaranji says this will be the last time he will address us. I trust that he may again come to us, and that he may then give us what he has suppressed on this occasion—the debit side of the account. Meanwhile we shall consider him on our debit side, and shall book him for a future occasion.

Now, the important point of this address is that the Chief fully realizes that in importing reforms on a Western basis in India we should never forget the structure and, to use a French word, the mentality of the Indian races whom we govern. I believe it is possible on the one hand to spread over India all the blessings of Western civilization, and at the same time carefully retain what is admirable in the structure of Eastern civilization. (Hear, hear.) To illustrate what I mean I will give you one instance: Would anyone dream of introducing into India our present system of Poor Law, or either of the recommendations of the majority or the minority of the late Poor Law Commission? I think you will all agree that would be preposterous. India has no workhouses, and long may she remain immune (cheers), and long may the Indian people pride themselves on their voluntary charity.

With regard to the point of social intercourse, the Chief, with great shrewdness, says you must not expect that our relations shall be intimate, although friendly; what we may expect, and what is attainable, is that whatever formality may attach to these relations, still we should cultivate a frank and cordial intercourse. The best proof of it is the address we have heard to-day. I may tell you, and I dare say Lord Lamington will endorse my experience, that in looking back on the time I have spent in India, I recall with the greatest pleasure visits from either members of the aristocracy, or from the members of the intellectual elite, or from professional men. Those interviews were interesting, and I confess that I do not know how I could have adequately discharged my duties without obtaining the opinions of those who could give me valuable information as to the needs of the people, and who could point out how we could best succeed in the measures which we had to consider.

One word about Java. Unfortunately I have never been in Java, so I am at some disadvantage with the Chief, who has visited Java; but I am following closely what is happening there, for the simple reason that the Government of Netherlands India are grappling with exactly the same problems we have to solve, and the lecturer is quite justified in saying that the tendency of the Dutch Government in Java at this moment is to approach as much as possible our system of government. In Java the native system of local government has been upheld, which seems to me to have been a wise policy. It is quite true that up to now very few members of the Javanese aristocracy have come to be educated at a Dutch university, but quite lately one of their members has taken his degree at the University of Leyden in the Faculty of Arts, with honours. I may tell you he speaks Dutch fluently, and when the degree was conferred he was complimented by no less a person than Dr.

Snouck Hergronje, who, as you know, is the Editor of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, and a great authority on everything connected with Muhammadanism. Throughout the East the contact between East and West forces certain problems to the front and compels all Western nations to study them.

Now I must allude to what has been stated by Mr. Coldstream with regard to the missionaries. Let it be well understood that the Government of India is absolutely neutral, and I was myself very careful to exercise that neutrality when I was in India, but at the same time my relations with the missionary societies were always of the most cordial nature, and I confess, when I look back on what the missionaries did with regard to medical relief and education, and in other directions, I do not think it would be wise, looking at it from the point of view of Indian interests, to discourage missionary effort; always with this understanding, as Sir George Birdwood has stated, that the greatest respect should be paid, of course, to the religions of the country. The people in the United Kingdom who send out those missionaries do it because they are convinced that there is no greater boon they can confer than Christianity, and it is that conviction which leads the missionaries to undertake a life of self-sacrifice—no one will say that the missionaries are actuated by motives of personal ambition—and the only reason why they go to India is because they wish to benefit the natives of India. (Hear, hear.) I trust that the Chief will be convinced that nothing is farther removed from the mind of the Government of India than in any way to compel the people of India to accept a creed not in accordance with their own religious traditions. The Chief of Inchalkaranji has given us a paper which we shall do well not to lay aside, but to carefully consider. The paper has certainly been well thought out, and I shall recommend my friends at the India Office to notice it. I am sure we all wish the Chief well on his return to his State, and we are pleased to think he is able to benefit his own subjects, and I also hope that members of the Indian aristocracy will follow his example. I have always been of opinion that the education of the younger members of the Indian aristocracy is one of the most important duties in our government of India, and it gives me great pleasure to see what the results have been of the little care I was able to bestow on the education of the Chief, and also on that of his neighbour, the Maharajah of Kolhapur, to whom I ask him to give my most kind regards. His education, I remember, was a subject of my special solicitude. I move a hearty vote of thanks to the Chief, and I wish to add how pleased also we are to have in our midst the Ranee of Inchalkaranji. (Cheers.) I have great pleasure in conveying this vote of thanks to the lecturer. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said it was a very agreeable surprise to him that his remarks should have been received by the audience with such enthusiasm, and at the kindly spirit in which criticism had been offered. He wished to assure Mr. Coldstream that in the remarks he made about the missionary work it was far from his mind to say anything against the work. He fully appreciated the benefit that had been conferred by the missionaries upon India; he also recognized that they were a non-official body, and that they came into contact with the people on terms of social equality. Personally he

was not one of those who thought the caste system was a bar. Even in his own State Indians had given grants to Christian churches. He had no quarrel with the Christians at all; what he meant to say was simply that the presence of the missionaries in India did create in the minds of the people some suspicion of Government. In his own State he was the first man to see the missionaries and to give them every facility for preaching. Religion depended on the temperament and habits of the people, so there could be no such thing as "uniformity" in religion, but every real religion was God's, and through every religion they could reach God, whether Christian or not.

With regard to the question asked by Mr. Mallik as to what he meant by Britisher, he would say the whole of the British nation, and if necessary he would include in that term the Colonies, because in their hearts they were British; they were all ultimately lovers of fair-play and justice.

Then again, it had been said by one speaker that it was not a compliment to compare British rule with any other rule. He did not make that comparison between a present rule and a former rule, but he was comparing the state of things that existed now and what they were or would have been if the British had not interfered.

As to the question of social intercourse, he was well aware that as a rule the officials were always very courteous. In India it was not always considered good for people in authority to come in contact with people on terms of equality. In India they were more used to the hereditary principles.

His lordship had referred to the question of Java, and what he said was quite correct. Whilst there he noticed an important difference in the administration of Java, in the respect that they tried to keep up the differences between caste and caste, whereas in India, from the time of the British, no such distinction in the eyes of the law had been maintained. In India the anxiety of the Government was to do away with the distinctions, and to treat all the people as British subjects.

Alluding to Sir George Birdwood's criticism on the spelling of his name, the Chief said he had not been previously aware of the erudite signification of his "cognomen," but henceforth, like the well-known character in the "Pickwick Papers," he would see that his name was spelt correctly.

Finally, he wished to remind the audience that a heavy responsibility still rested on them; the educated classes in India looked to the British nation for guidance, and the British people must be true to their great traditions and help the people of India to become what they had often said they wanted them to become, namely, a great nation.

He desired also to thank his Lordship for the kind reference to his wife, the Ranisaheb. She was glad to be present here. It was a great thing for a lady of her position and caste to cross the Kalápani and come here, and this made her appreciate very highly the kind notice of her presence in the assembly. (Applause.)

On the motion of SIR LESLEY PROBYN a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman, which terminated the proceedings.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE
AND ITS SUITABILITY FOR MODERN
REQUIREMENTS.

By F. O. OERTEL, F.R.I.B.A.

(Superintending Engineer, Allahabad).

WITH the kind permission of the East India Association, I am going to address you to-day on the subject of Indian architecture and its suitability for modern requirements. Mr. Havell has already read a very able paper on a similar subject before you in October last, but as he and others seem to be under the impression that the Public Works Department in India are the great opponents of indigenous art and architecture, it may not be out of place if a member of that much maligned Service (called by one enthusiastic art critic, the late Mr. Salmon Growse, "a chartered anti-aesthetic society") raises his voice in protest against these accusations and in favour of indigenous Indian architecture. I can assure you that there is no feeling whatever against Indian architecture in the Service I have the honour to belong to. In the selection of styles, however, we are not always free agents, as many considerations come in. To begin with, the Services we work for have the chief say in the matter. They pay the piper and have a right to call the tune. Then, where work has to be done economically and quickly, it is difficult to break with established forms to which all the staff is trained. When the English first

settled in India they brought with them the Renaissance style then in vogue in England, a form of which had become firmly established for all European buildings in India long before the Public Works Department came into existence. It is hardly fair, therefore, to hold that Service responsible for it and to sneeringly dub it "the Public Works style." It is true, unfortunately, that it is this style alone that all our draughtsmen are conversant with, and as the engineers are not themselves usually trained architects, and have but little leisure to devote to the subject, they cannot be blamed for continuing a style in which it is easiest to work, and which met with the approval of the authorities as being the most economical and suitable for the purpose. It must also be remembered that the demands on the Indian exchequer, through famine, plague, and frontier wars, have been so great that, in my province at least, until quite recently, there was rarely anything to spare for architectural adornment of any kind, and estimates were kept down to the very lowest possible limit. The system of having standard plans for various kinds of public buildings, which are not allowed to be departed from, has, it must be admitted, helped to stereotype the style, and produce a monotony which is justly condemned. At the same time, before criticizing a body of engineers for failing to evolve a satisfactory style for public buildings, it must be remembered that even in Europe the combined efforts of all the architectural profession have failed so far to produce a really satisfactory solution of this problem. There has, however, I am glad to be able to say, been a great improvement in this respect of late years in India. Trained architects have now been appointed to all, or nearly all, local governments—an innovation brought about by Lord Curzon—and there has since been a distinct improvement in the appearance of our public buildings in India and a tendency towards the adoption of indigenous styles of architecture for the more important buildings. This new condition of things has, I know, been hailed with satisfaction by such members of my Service as

are interested in architecture, most of whom have come to regard the Indian styles as the most suitable to the country, and would gladly see them adopted throughout. But this end, however desirable, cannot be brought about until the authorities for whom we build themselves demand Indian architecture, and until the staff we employ have had some training in it.

From my own experience I know, also, how difficult it is for a man trained in Western styles to break with his early notions. Finding that building construction constituted a great part of my duties in the "Buildings and Roads" branch of the Public Works Department, to which I belong, I took an early opportunity of supplementing my engineering training by that of an architect. For this purpose I went through the usual course of architectural instruction in England, and after extended tours in England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy, passed—twenty-five years ago—the qualifying examination for membership of the Royal Institute of British Architects. On returning to India after my architectural training in England, my first efforts in design were directed towards introducing some improvement in the European styles in vogue, but I have now completely come round to the view that salvation for India lies in the adoption of some form of Oriental architecture which has grown up in the country, and is most suited to its climatic and other conditions. It is curious to note that most English architects working in India sooner or later arrive at the same point of view, and either adopt indigenous architecture, or so modify the Western styles as to give them a strong Oriental flavour. The same conversion may be noticed in the case of European art experts who come out to India to teach their art, and end by learning from the Indian craftsmen. Amongst the leading converts in this respect I need only mention such names as Sir Swinton Jacob, Mr. Robert Chisholm, Mr. Lockwood Kipling, and Mr. Havell. To judge from their more recent designs Mr. Ransome, the late architect to the Government of

India, and his successor, Mr. Begg, may also be included in the list as showing distinct leanings in the same direction. In fact, no one who really comes in contact with Indian art and architecture in their natural surroundings, and devotes some attention to them, can escape the fascination exercised by them. But it takes several years' residence and work in India before a man can throw off the thraldom of European ideas on this subject, engrafted in him by his early training.

While acknowledging the incomparable beauty of many of the Indian buildings, some architects hesitate to adopt the style, as they think it too costly and impractical for everyday requirements. It is generally considered that the only good examples of Indian architecture to be found in the country are temples, tombs, and mosques ; but this is by no means the case. Charming specimens of domestic architecture may be seen in the Moghal palaces and residences of Indian chiefs, while there is hardly a bazaar which will not furnish delightful instances of the humbler class of dwellings, so that there is no lack of materials for the architectural student.

The fear that the indigenous style is too costly for everyday use is disproved by the buildings already erected. There is no necessity for introducing expensive features, such as domes and kiosks, in all buildings. They can be given a distinctly Indian appearance even without these adjuncts, and the cost can be kept down by selecting the cheapest materials locally available. One characteristically Indian feature is the *chajjah*, or overhanging slab cornice, which protects the walls from rain and sun, and throws a most effective shadow. The introduction of this one feature alone will give a distinctly Indian character to any building without materially enhancing the cost, as suitable stone slabs are generally easily obtainable—as, for instance, in the neighbourhood of Agra and Delhi—and the *chajjah* can be made plain or elaborate, and with or without carved stone brackets to suit the character of the buildings and the

funds available. I have now been engaged for thirty years in the erection of buildings in India, and my experience is that it makes practically no difference as regards cost whether a building be designed in an Indian or a European style. The cost depends on other considerations apart from style—viz., whether costly or cheap materials are used, whether the design is extravagant or economical, and whether the building is ornamented or plain. There is nothing in the Indian style which necessitates extravagant design or costly ornamentation.

As for the fear expressed that the Indian style does not lend itself to the provision of sufficiently spacious and airy apartments, or to a plan suitable to modern Western requirements, I don't think there is any foundation for such an assertion. The style can be successfully applied to any plan whatever. A number of handsome edifices have been erected within recent years at Allahabad, Agra, Lucknow, and elsewhere, in the indigenous style, which fully prove its adaptability to all modern requirements. For instance, one of the Allahabad University buildings contains a hall measuring 130 feet by 60 feet in plan. The cost of this building, erected in brick and stone, is 5½d. per cubic foot of contents, which, I think, will be found to compare favourably with buildings of equal pretensions in other countries. I may mention here that I have ascertained on inquiry that buildings of the same class would probably not cost less than one shilling per cubic foot in England, and that some of the public buildings there mount up to as much as two shillings per cubit foot. The Agricultural College at Cawnpore, a very handsome domed structure, covered with stone veneering on the outside, and the main building of the Medical College at Lucknow, both cost about the same per cubic foot—viz., from 5d. to 6d. per cubic foot. So this may be taken as a fair average rate at which handsome buildings of that class can be erected in my part of India. Plainer, but still handsome, buildings in the same style can be erected at about half that rate by the elimination

of as much stone-work as possible. Examples of this latter class of buildings are the Muir College boarding-house at Allahabad and the Arabic School at Lucknow. The slides of some of these buildings, which I shall presently show you on the screen, will give you an idea of this style and its artistic possibilities, as handled by Sir Swinton Jacob and others.

In support of the foregoing arguments I would like to quote here from Sir J. P. Hewett's speech on opening the Senate Hall at Allahabad. "I think," he said, "that every critic who possesses any taste must realize that the ideal method of combining Oriental art and traditions with internal accommodation, such as is required in buildings adapted for modern use, has been attained in such buildings as the Medical and Canning Colleges at Lucknow and this Senate House. At any rate, my perception, such as it is, satisfies me that we have in these buildings, as well as in others, solved the problem of combining the external decoration of the East with the internal requirements of the West, and that some of them might well serve as models to those who will be engaged in erecting the Imperial City." This is the deliberate opinion of a man closely connected with Delhi and intimately acquainted with Indian conditions, whose authority cannot be disputed.

In addition to the buildings already mentioned before, there are also some very successful buildings in the indigenous style which have been erected in other parts of India, such as Bombay and Madras. In connection with this latter place I would especially draw attention to the excellent work done by Mr. Chisholm, a member of your Council. He and Sir Swinton Jacob are the two men who have, perhaps, done most for indigenous Indian architecture, in giving an impulse to its revival which will never die. They have guided and trained, with their refined taste, a number of Indian draughtsmen, who are now successfully competing in all public building competitions. Several of Sir Swinton's draughtsmen have been lately working under me at

Allahabad, and I cannot speak too highly of the valuable assistance they have given me. Last year I was asked to assist a committee in the selection of a design for the King Edward Memorial Hall at Cawnpore—a combined library and public hall—for which competitive designs had been sent in. In addition to a large number of inferior designs, there were a few good ones in European as well as Indian styles. Three or four of the latter were unmistakably of Sir Swinton Jacob's school. I selected one of each kind—that is, one European and one Indian design—and left the ultimate choice to the committee. The English design selected by me exhibited some very clever features in the plan, but was not quite adapted to the Cawnpore climate, as verandahs had been almost entirely omitted. The Indian design was more suitable in this respect, but showed want of skill in the handling of the plan and want of knowledge of the details required for the stage and retiring rooms, etc. In spite of these defects, which I pointed out, the committee unhesitatingly decided in favour of the Indian design as being the most suitable and pleasing to the eye. It was not till afterwards that I came to know that the successful competitor was one of my own Jaipur draughtsmen whom I had got from Sir Swinton Jacob. The building is now being erected on this man's designs as modified under my instructions. You will, no doubt, be interested to hear that the same man, Ram Rup, headed the list in the Delhi competition for official residences. Only a second prize was awarded, and he was its winner in competition against the rest of India. I am mentioning this to show the good that can be done by English architects who devote themselves to Indian architecture, in the training and development of indigenous talent. I may mention that the Jaipur draughtsmen belong to the craftsmen class, and that they are as skilful with their tools as with their pencils. Sir Swinton Jacob has, he assured me, always made it a rule to work in co-operation with Indian craftsmen, both in the design and execution of work. I feel sure that the future of

Indian architecture lies in such co-operation of the East with the West. Although indigenous architecture is still a living force in India, some outside encouragement and guidance is needed to enable it to rise again to the height which it once occupied. There is good and bad art in India. Unfortunately, many of the Indian craftsmen as well as the patrons to whom the craftsmen look for employment, seem to have lost the power of distinguishing the good from the bad. This is partially due to the decline of Indian art which set in with the downfall of the Moghals from Aurungzebe onwards, and also largely, I fear, to the confusion created by the introduction of Western styles and art notions. The hope for a brighter future for Indian art lies in its revival by the Indians themselves, and there are signs that this revival is slowly coming about. If this consummation be ever achieved by the new national spirit, it will have effected a work of great and lasting benefit to India. What we want for India is not a Greek and Roman Renaissance, but a Renaissance of Indian art and architecture. The want of this is deeply felt in India. It has become our clear duty to help and foster the movement and guide it into the right channel. Since Lord Curzon first took up the question of improving the standard of public buildings in India, English architects have been appointed to most of the provinces, with whom now rests the design of all Government buildings. It is to them, therefore, that we must look for the proper lead, and I have no doubt that they can be relied upon to recognize their opportunities and duties in this respect. But one must not expect the impossible of them. As I have shown, trained architects are almost sure to turn sooner or later to Indian art of their own accord ; but it takes time and opportunity to master its details and imbibe its spirit, and this time and opportunity should be freely given to them at the beginning of their careers in India.

At the present moment a great and unrivalled opportunity has come for the encouragement of Indian art in the building

of New Delhi, and I trust this opportunity will not be allowed to go by without being taken full advantage of. Those who advocate a Colonial Renaissance style for our buildings at the imperial capital forget, I think, the true significance of the move to Delhi and of our position in the country. We are not in India as colonists intent on making a home there as nearly like the one we have left behind. There may be some excuse for the early merchants who founded Calcutta to have erected the buildings there in a style familiar to them, but since Queen Victoria's Proclamation of November, 1858, we have avowedly broken away from the selfish traditions of the East India Company. We now profess to exercise Imperial sway over all India, with the consent of the people and for their benefit. It was, I take it, for the express purpose of showing to all the world that we had broken once and for all with the narrow policy of the old East India trading company, and to avoid all appearance of the Indian Government being unduly influenced by the powerful commercial interests of a large port town, that His Majesty the King-Emperor, in public Durbar, proclaimed his intention of removing his capital from Calcutta to the seat of the old Moghal Empire at Delhi. By so doing he signified that India was to be ruled for India's benefit alone and according to Indian sentiment, thereby consolidating the union between India and England for their mutual advantage. The British are too apt to disregard sentiment and appearances and to forget that the Indian peasant will largely judge the character of our rule by the public buildings in which our administration is carried on. If these are foreign to his understanding, the British raj will remain foreign to him, however just, equitable, and beneficial, it may be. With the best intentions we have made mistakes in the past, and in our eagerness to bestow on India the benefits of Western civilization have led it into paths in which it is not prepared to follow us—witness Macaulay's famous Education Minute No one would dream nowadays of forcing Roman and Greek learning on India to the detriment of Arabic

and Sanskrit. We can now see that it was a fortunate thing that the attempt proved a failure, as it would have been a great loss to the world had Indian thought been strangled through Western education. The same is the case with art and architecture; the world at large, and especially England, would be the losers if the attempt of some were to succeed who would set aside Indian architecture and replace it by European Renaissance. How monotonous the world would become were their dreams of one architectural style for the whole of it to be realized! The very thought of it fills me with horror and dismay. These endeavours form but part of the constant effort of Western civilization to annihilate all other modes of thought, action, and even of dress in the whole world. There is no end to Western self-complacency and conceit. Almost every European going to the East considers himself a missionary in a sacred cause, called upon to spread the blessings of Western civilization, and the greater his ignorance of what he is striving to upset, the greater his iconoclastic zeal. We have succeeded in shaming the Chinese out of their topknots and the custom of crippling their women's feet. So far, so good; but I trust that we shall not insist on their adopting top-hats and tight-lacing. While architects in Europe are striving to get away from the tyranny of styles—the chief cause of offence in that respect—the Italian Renaissance is slowly conquering the rest of the world. The prospect of its ultimate success fills me with alarm, and I trust that future generations will be spared the distress of having to point to the building of New Delhi as an important step in its triumphal march.

For the information of those who have not given much thought to the subject, I may explain here that the term Renaissance as applied to European architecture means the renaissance or revival of Roman and Greek art which came about with the revival of classic learning in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and put an end to the further development of all national art which was contemptuously

dubbed Gothic or barbaric. The Renaissance is *par excellence* the art of the study and the scholar. Its introduction first suggested the notion of *style*, of which we hear so much nowadays. The Renaissance is also responsible, I believe, for the growth of a scholarly profession of architects entirely separate from the craftsmen. These classic architects made it their business to evolve from the study of classic literature and ancient buildings certain rules of proportion of the three orders—the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian—and thus, once and for all, created a fixed *style* which no trained architect might deviate from. In Italy such a revival of classic art was natural enough, as it had never quite died out, and the country abounded with magnificent examples of Roman architecture. But in England and other parts of Northern Europe the Renaissance was a foreign importation, dealing a death-blow to national art, and leading to the present-day system of paper design by a scholarly class of architects out of touch with the craftsmen. For centuries Europe has been groaning under the yoke of the styles, reducing architecture from a living art to an antiquarian study. But the awakening has come, and architects are doing their best to escape from the thraldom of styles and to make architecture once more a true expression of modern requirements and methods of construction. With this example before us we should, I think, hesitate to do anything which might advance the progress of European Renaissance in India, knowing that by doing so we are helping on the sure destruction of a living and very high form of art which gives India its special charm.

European Renaissance already reigns supreme in most of our Indian port towns, such as Calcutta and Rangoon, while Bombay has adopted the Gothic style, which was in fashion in England at the time when the more important Bombay buildings came to be erected. Which of the styles now practised is to be adopted for Delhi is still a secret. The selection lies with the eminent

architects who have been appointed to design the buildings for the new Imperial city. I trust that they will recognize that however suitable the Palladian style may be for Calcutta and the Gothic for Bombay, both semi-European port towns of our own creation, neither style would do for Delhi, situated as it is in the very heart of India, and full of its most sacred traditions. I devoutly hope that Mr. Lutyens and Mr. Baker will recognize the great opportunity for good or evil entrusted to them, and will not, for the sake of hastening the task, neglect to study Indian architecture on the spot. I know that it is calling for a great deal of self-denial on their part to expect them to forego even for a time a lucrative practice in order to do this, but I think the occasion is one where such a sacrifice may be expected of them. The names of the builders of New Delhi will go down to history, and the task entrusted to them is so great and glorious that all other considerations must be thrown aside for it. I know that the building of the new capital cannot be indefinitely delayed, but one or two winters devoted to the study of Indian architecture would not be waste of time, as during the interval the work of preparing the sites and laying out the city might be progressing.

The idea of asking English architects to design in the Indian style is not nearly as fantastic as it might appear at first sight. We have an example of a somewhat similar nature in the case of the Foreign Office in Whitehall. The competition for this was won by Sir Gilbert Scott, the architect of the Law Courts, with a Gothic design. As Lord Palmerston did not consider this a suitable style for public offices, Sir Gilbert was requested to prepare another design in the Renaissance style. This he did, although not familiar with the style, and the result is pronounced to be one of the most satisfactory buildings of its kind. Another well-known example is the Houses of Parliament, which were designed by a classic architect, Barry, assisted by Pugin, a specialist in Gothic details. The laws of

architectural symmetry and proportion are, after all, the same, whether one style is employed or another. English architects commissioned to design buildings in the Indian style of architecture would only need to acquaint themselves with its general features, as good draughtsmen of the artisan class can be got in the country to help with the details.

If students want to know where to go and what particular style to study I would advise them to go to Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, and there study the buildings of the great Emperor Akbar. It is known that Akbar largely employed Hindu builders and craftsmen, and gave them a very free hand. The result was the growth of a truly Indian style, bringing into happy union both Hindu and Muhammadan forms. This style is seen to the best advantage at Akbar's capital, Fatehpur Sikri, where Hindu columns and bracket capitals are found in excellent company with Muhammadan arches and domes. Here may be seen examples of all kinds of public and domestic buildings in a marvellous state of preservation, including mosques and tombs, public offices and audience halls, a mint, bazaar and caravanserai, as well as royal residences, and palaces of nobles and ladies of the Court. The whole forms a collection of buildings unrivalled in the world, affording an excellent insight into the life of the great Emperor and his Court. Below the rocky ridge on which the royal buildings are situated was the town in which the Emperor's retainers and craftsmen found shelter, besides shopkeepers and other citizens necessary for the support of the royal residence. The whole was surrounded by a strongly fortified wall. To add to the amenities of the place a dam was thrown across a low valley, and a large artificial lake formed on the north side of the palace, on which pleasure-boats were kept and river fêtes were held. I know all the buildings intimately, as I had charge of Fatehpur Sikri and Agra for several years, at a time when extensive restorations were being carried out under the orders of Lord Curzon. I look back upon that time as perhaps the most interesting of my service. Much as I admired the Taj and the marble palaces of

Shah Jehan, it was the red sandstone buildings of Akbar which had the greatest human interest for me, and which gave me a deep and abiding veneration and love for this great man's work and character. Wherever one turns one meets with proofs of his wonderful liberal-mindedness. He allied himself by marriage with the leading Rajput houses, and his favourite wife is said to have been a Christian lady, Mariam Zamani, for whom he built a tomb next to his own at Sikandra. His chief friend and adviser was Birbal, an orthodox Hindu ; and another Hindu, Todar Mal, was the Minister who drew up the revenue code still followed by us as the basis of our revenue system. One of the pictures in the 'Ain Akbari represents Akbar going round with his Hindu architect, who is carrying the plan of a building in his hand. It is well known what a favourable opinion Akbar had of Hindu craftsmen, of whom a large number were always employed in the precincts of the palace, and whose work was exhibited to him daily. It was on account of the saint, Selim Chishti, that Akbar was induced to found the new capital at Fatehpur Sikri, so as to be near him. Among other work it fell to my lot to have to restore the beautiful mother-of-pearl mosaic on the canopy over the saint's shrine. I had some trouble in finding suitable workmen for this, as the art had died out, but eventually I got it done satisfactorily. Much of the inlaid work at the Taj, and of the marble palaces in the Fort at Agra, had to be renewed during my time, and I never had any difficulty in getting it carried out in a satisfactory manner. In my experience I have always found that for work in Indian style there is no insuperable difficulty in execution. The same cannot be said when it comes to foreign styles, such as the European Renaissance. To get a Corinthian capital carved in India, even with the most detailed drawings and models, is a matter of the utmost difficulty, as all will acknowledge who have had some experience in this. Even when done to the best of their ability, the Indian carvers are sure to miss the spirit of it, and the result will be dead and unpleasing.

I have spoken at some length about Akbar's work because I consider him to be the founder of a really national Indian style combining the best features of both Hindu and Muhammadan architecture—a style which I should like to see developed in these days. Had his successors only followed in his footsteps, both in policy and art, the Moghal Empire would probably never have perished. But immediately after this great man's death a reaction set in; a spirit of intolerance took the place of his liberal ideas, culminating in the reign of Aurangzeb, who tried to convert all his Hindu subjects to Islam, and to force beards and long coats on them. The result is that while Akbar still lives in the affections of all Indians, and while his tomb is visited annually by thousands of Hindus and Muhammadans, Aurangzeb's memory is execrated and he lies unhonoured in his neglected grave at Aurungabad. Now that we are establishing our new capital at the seat of the old Moghal Empire, let us endeavour to follow in the footsteps of Akbar rather than of Aurangzeb.

One hears much of the Indian master-builders, a word I understand to mean indigenous architects, with whose help a revival of Indian art and architecture is to be brought about. I fear that these native architects are difficult to find. During my long service I have had occasions when I would have been only too glad of the assistance of indigenous talent of a higher order, but I have never been able to get hold of it. I must admit that the Public Works Department is not a favourable training-ground for that kind of talent, for the opportunities for its employment are rare and intermittent. Men of that kind flourish best under the patronage of a Court, like Akbar's, where there is full scope for the exercise of their skill and where they have the personal interest of the King to encourage them. I have, however, never had much difficulty in securing clever "mistris" or master craftsmen, and I have no doubt that there are in India some of a superior order who can carry out independent building work so as to fully deserve the name of master-builders. But such men are

rare, and would be sure of permanent employment with some of the Indian chiefs, and therefore difficult to procure for occasional work. Of the "mistri" or master-craftsmen class I have had some very fine specimens working under me who were thoroughly conversant with wood and stone construction and carving, and frequently knew something of blacksmith's and goldsmith's work as well. But although Indian craftsmen can still produce surprisingly pure and pleasing specimens of their art, my experience is that they lack the refined taste to discriminate between the good and the indifferent or bad, and that they need guidance and encouragement. That Indians can be trained to do the highest kind of architectural design is shown by the success already achieved by Sir Swinton Jacob's draughtsmen, and such men as Khan Bahadur Ram Singh, one of Mr. Lockwood Kipling's pupils, who was employed on the decoration of the durbar-room at Osborne House, and who is now Principal of the School of Arts at Lahore. But these men prove the necessity that still exists for the co-operation of the West in the training of the East. There can be no doubt that Indian architecture declined with the decay of the Moghal Empire, and though I believe it to be capable of resuscitation, and am convinced of there being a bright future in store for it, I consider that it needs the fostering care of our rulers to guide it in its progress towards that goal, not by forcing Western forms upon it, but by aiding its natural development. To further this object it is, I think, desirable to create some knowledge and sympathy for Indian art on the part of the English officials serving in India. The course of education for them might be made to include some knowledge of the rudiments of Indian art and architecture, if not for all European officials, at least for the engineers who have to erect our buildings. If it is necessary for European officers to learn the language of the people they are to reside amongst, it is also necessary to learn something of their art, for that is an outward mode of expression that appeals most directly to the heart.

I have already said that much may be hoped for from the English architects lately employed in India, but opportunities should be given them to study Indian architecture. I would strongly urge the Government of India to endow a couple of scholarships every year to enable young English architects to go through a course of study of indigenous architecture in India for at least two years, with some assurance of employment at the end of that period, either as architects, or as professors at the architectural schools, which I hope to see established all over India. During their period of study in India the young architects might be employed touring and measuring up old buildings for half the year during the cold season, and for the other half-year, during the summer, they might be attached to the offices of consulting architects, and made to help in the designing of Indian buildings. There are at present a few schools of art in India which are doing useful work, but as far as I am aware, there is not a single school of architecture in the whole length and breadth of the land. The little architecture that is being taught is in connection with these schools, such as at Bombay and at Lahore. It is surprising to think that the teaching of architecture should have been so neglected, considering that it is the parent art which gives employment to the decorative arts of painting and sculpture. If Indian art as a whole is to be resuscitated, the first necessity is the establishment of good schools of architecture, not less than one in each province, where indigenous architecture, sound planning, and scientific methods of construction, can be taught to the students by trained architects conversant with the styles of the particular locality. Much has already been done by the Indian Government, as well as by individuals in making known the beauties of Indian architecture, and it is easy for anyone, even without going to India, to gain some insight into its indigenous architecture by the perusal of some of the volumes of the "Archæological Survey" (especially Mr. E. W. Smith's books on Agra and Fatehpur Sikri), and the "Jaipur Portfolio" of architectural details.

This last publication, brought out by the Jaipur State, is due to Sir Swinton Jacob's initiative, and shows what a wealth of detail is available in columns, tracery and screens, balconies, bracket capitals, and so forth. An inspection of its beautiful plates should convince anyone that there is no difficulty whatever in finding suitable examples or suggestions in existing buildings for any feature that may be needed. Architects using the Indian style have two rich sources of inspiration to draw from—the ancient architecture of the country, and the Muhammadan styles brought in by the Moghal conquerors. They have, therefore, an infinity of detail at their command, giving them full scope for the most stately and ornate, as well as the most simple, structures. All that the West has to supply to make the style perfectly adapted to modern requirements is careful planning and modern scientific methods of construction. The style, as applied to modern buildings, is still in its infancy, and there is plenty of room for originality on the part of trained architects who may take it up. I can assure them from my own experience that it is the most suitable style for India, and most delightful to work in, as the Indian craftsmen have still sufficient innate knowledge of it to grasp your intentions at once.

In conclusion, before showing some slides of ancient Indian buildings and modern structures designed in Indian styles, I wish to say that in the course of my residence in the East I have toured all over India, Burma, and Ceylon, occupied in visiting all the most notable buildings in those countries; that I have watched with interest for more than a quarter of a century the development of our own efforts at building in India, and that the question of the most suitable style for the purpose has been ever with me, even although my chief duties have lain in the more prosaic work of constructing roads and bridges, waterworks and drainage schemes. The conclusion I have come to is that Indian architecture is undoubtedly the most suited to the needs of India, and it is my firm conviction that Indian archi-

tecture is bound to prevail in the end over all imported styles, whether we like it or not, and whether we help on the process or not.

After this declaration of faith I will proceed to show some of the slides I have collected for the occasion with the kind help of various contributors, to whom I tender my warmest thanks. As an introduction I will quote some words of Sir Rider Haggard, who visited India last winter—remarks which show what a wonderful and deep impression our Indian buildings make on the cultured European.

"India has," he said, "fascinated me more than any land that I have ever seen, except perhaps Egypt, in which my interest is mainly archaeological. I have been very much impressed by the ancient buildings which remain in this land, and I am very glad to see that so much care is now being taken of them. I think some of the palaces, mosques, and tombs in Delhi, Agra, and elsewhere are in a way an education to behold. I have seen the Alhambra in Spain, and it is beautiful; but I don't think it attains to the same poetic height as, say, the Taj Mahal, and one or two of the mosques and mausoleums at Agra and Delhi. These appear to me to be absolutely perfect creations; the mind of man, as it were at its highest, expressed in pictured stone and marble, and often attaining its most wonderful effects through a perfect simplicity of grace. There are certain of the tombs where a splendid, ornate handling of rich material all seems to concentrate at last in a little plain sarcophagus, beneath which the builder lies at rest; the varied magnificence of life, as it were, ended at last in the solemn silence of death, proclaimed by this block of marble, that points to those who look upon it throughout the ages, the end of all earthly things. The makers of those monuments must have been great people in their fashion. They had a gift which is denied to us in the West—at any rate to-day—and after all a gift of real value, since no one can over-estimate the worth of beauty or its eternal lessons."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

AT a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, July 21, 1913, a paper entitled "Indian Architecture and its Suitability for Modern Requirements," was read by F. O. Oertel, Esq., F.R.I.B.A. (Superintending Engineer, Allahabad). Colonel Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhowmaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, L.L.D., Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E., Sir Guildford Lindsey Molesworth, K.C.I.E., Sir Swinton Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir Lionel Spencer, K.C.B., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Andrew Wingate, K.C.I.E., Sir John Stanley, K.C., the Chief Saheb and Rani of Inchalkaranji, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, C.I.E., M.V.O., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. Justice and Mrs. Holmwood, Mr. R. A. Leslie and Mrs. Moore, Miss Moore, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Syed Abdul Majid, Mr. Sham Bahadur, Mrs. Archibald, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Forrest, Mrs. Hill, Mr. P. C. I. Pillay, Mr. St. Maur Williams, The Rev. Badwin Hammond, Miss Wade, Mr. H. C. C. Tufnell, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. M. B. Tyabji, I.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. W. Corfield, Miss Corfield, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. J. Ransome, F.R.I.B.A., Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Mrs. Dales, Mrs. Taggart, Mrs. Pennell, B.Sc., M.B., B.S. (Lond.), Mr. Nihal Singh, Mr. A. N. Peer Mahomed, Mr. B. Palamkote, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. H. H. Statham, Miss Webb, Mr. C. S. Campbell, I.C.S., Mr. F. Gangulee, Mr. M. M. Bhowmaggree, Mr. A. N. Butt, Mrs. Edwin Drew, Captain Lang, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. J. King, M.P., Mr. Howard Ince, F.R.I.B.A., Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Colonel Hendley, C.I.E., Mrs. Riddell, Mr. and Mrs. H. V. Lanchester, F.R.I.B.A., Miss Young, Dr. Aglionby, Mrs. White, Miss Strange, Colonel Lowry, Miss Massey, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. H. Cousins, Mr. H. Savoury, Mrs. Thomas Gillilan, Mr. H. A. Haines, Mr. and Mrs. Elliott, Dr. W. Fischer, Mr. E. J. Shepherd, Mrs. Gundle, Mr. W. Durran, Mr. W. T. Bennett, Mr. H. M.

Jordan, Mr. J. R. Chalmers, Mr. C. M. P. Wright, Mr. Yetts, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, we are gathered here together to listen to a lecture by a well-known friend of many of us, and I am very glad to see so many representatives present here to-day of architectural studies in India, and I feel sure that before we part we shall have had a most excellent address given us by the lecturer, and I also hope an instructive debate thereafter. As I find I have in my list some eight or ten speeches to follow, I will not detain you longer, but will call upon the lecturer to commence his lecture.

The lecture was then read, and received with applause, followed by a number of interesting lantern slides.

The CHAIRMAN : In the first place I must congratulate the lecturer on an admirable paper on a delicate subject and on the slides he has exhibited to us, both parts of his address having been instructive, even to the many experts present. He has given us, no doubt, a valiant, and, in my humble opinion, a very proper defence of the Public Works Department in reply to the many criticisms levelled at it from aesthetic quarters ; but I would like to notice one great danger, from the architectural point of view, which has only been hinted at in the paper we have just heard—the standardizing of plans and elevations. This is disastrous to any style, Renaissance or Indian, and it seems to me that it would be almost as bad in the end if the department were to have for the whole country a standardized set of Indian designs as of European. A really interesting, and in some respects valuable, point he has brought to notice is that an Indian design is as applicable to a public building as a Renaissance or Gothic design in the matter of cost and plan, and from this argument much can be deduced in favour of his main contention, that the architecture for India should be Indian.

I have been much interested by his remarks on and views of Indian domestic architecture, as about thirty years ago I contributed to the journal of " Indian Art " for John Lockwood Kipling an article with several illustrations showing that it was most suitable to the requirements of the people, and the work of *mistris* or native craftsmen, without the help of any set drawings or designs.

Mr. Oertel's remarks on the disregard by Europeans in India of native sentiment are entirely in accord with my own views. I have always thought that in most matters we English have never paid sufficient attention to the power that sentiment exercises over the native mind, and that this fault has been accentuated since the Crown succeeded to the old East India Company. In many ways the Company's servants knew the native mind better, and there is this much to be said of the Palladian architecture they introduced. It emphasized the suzerainty of the Englishman. It symbolized his power. Of course, since 1857, it has been our policy to make the native understand that the country is being ruled by us as much for his benefit as for ours, and in this view it would be well for the Government of India to symbolize this view by its architecture, as its predecessors symbolized the exhibition of superior power by theirs. One

cannot help hoping, therefore, that the builders of the New Delhi will take the paper we have just heard into consideration.

MR. CHISHOLM, after congratulating the lecturer on his very excellent paper, and on the skilful way in which he had steered clear of the quick-sands which every practising architect was likely to fall into, said one important fact stood out in the paper, and that was that although most English architects commenced in the Renaissance style of art, when they went to India they all ended in an Indian style. The first important building he himself constructed was in the Renaissance style, but long before it was finished he was busy revising the plans of another Renaissance building to a modified Indian form of art, more suited to the materials, and to the labour of the particular district, and to the money he had at his command. It was a mistake to imagine that Indian styles were expensive. As all Indian architects had, as he had said, commenced in the Renaissance style and ended in the Indian style, it was a reasonable conjecture to imagine that the eminent architects who had gone out to India would, if they stayed in the country, end in being more Indian than any of their predecessors. Thinking on those lines, it occurred to him that, as an ounce of practice was worth a ton of theory, he would see what could be done with one of Mr. Lutyens' own Renaissance designs if he converted it into an Indian building, so he sketched his (Mr. Lutyens') design for the Municipal Art Gallery at Dublin, now being exhibited at the Royal Academy, and then converted it into Indian architecture, and with the assistance of the man at the lantern, he would show them the result, and how easily such a design could be adapted. (The design as adapted to Indian architecture was then thrown on the screen.) If, in three or four hours, he could produce that Renaissance style suited to Indian requirements, what could not the eminent architects do when they, in turn, became acquainted with Indian architectural styles! (Applause.)

THE CHIEF OF ICHALKARANJI said he found, from his own personal experience, that it was more pleasant to live in a house built in an Indian style than in a bungalow built from a European's ideas. He thought there was a great waste of talent in India; no sooner had the architects in India got their experience of Indian ideas than they had to be coming back home, thus severing their connection with India. He thought some means might be found for utilizing this experience for the benefit of India. One point he wished to allude to was—and he was glad to find he had the authority of the architects themselves for the statement—that it was not more costly to build in Indian style than in the style of this country. He was afraid Indians, in building their buildings, did not always study the subject of ventilation and light and acoustic properties, although they built good buildings. He had in mind a school at Poona, recently built by an Indian architect, where in the classrooms one could hardly hear the boy's talk, or the teacher speak. Acoustic properties generally were bad in the native States. Again, it jarred upon one to see buildings that were not in keeping with its surroundings, and he trusted this would not happen in Delhi, which was to be built in the midst of beautiful surroundings. He believed there was a common idea in India that the British could not

build really good buildings. That was the impression, but he certainly did not think it was justified. (Hear, hear.) They must have buildings of good style in Delhi.

MR. LANCHESTER said he appreciated the fair way the lecturer had put the case on both sides. In regard to cost, of course if they built an elaborate building, Indian architecture was costly, but not more costly than the same degree of elaboration in Renaissance work. The simpler style of buildings could be executed with as little cost as any form of building one could devise. The lecturer spoke about the resuscitation of the Indian style, and expressed the feeling that it was not so much a question of resuscitation as of getting together at Delhi the men who were now doing splendid work all over India, some of it most beautifully executed by Indian *mistris*, and most skilfully planned and arranged. Of course, if the buildings were wanted for offices and suchlike, the Indian architect would certainly require to be given a lead, but the English architect in due time ought to be able to put before him logically and definitely his requirements, and say, "Now carry out in your own style and art those requirements." If sympathy were established between the European architect and the Indian architect-craftsman, they should see as magnificent buildings as India had seen when the same association took place between the Mogul Emperors and the Hindoo craftsmen.

RAI BAHADUR GANGA RAM said that he was afraid any remarks he made would be considered as out of date, because he had retired from service many years ago. He would just like to say that in the first good Indian building of Indian architecture in which he was engaged, he had great difficulty in keeping down the cost within the estimate; so in order to effect a saving, he carried out all the details of stone work in terra-cotta. They had no stone in Lahore, and found they could carry out in terra-cotta all the details of mouldings, and especially in the tracery and the façades, many of them resembling the pictures they had seen on the screen. One point which had caused great disappointment to Indians the lecturer had omitted to notice—viz., that in the formation of the Delhi committee, eminent architects of Indian architectural experience were carefully left out. That, in his opinion, was not a very happy sign for the future of Indian architecture. (Hear, hear.)

COLONEL HENDLEY said that, although not an architect, he had had the pleasure of living near to, during many years, and of seeing the development of Sir Swinton Jacob's artistic talent, and the lesson taught by him was that what was really wanted was a combination of the European architect with the Indian craftsman, as suggested by the lecturer. In the construction of hospitals, et cetera (especially in the Jaipur State, in which he was concerned), Sir Swinton always followed the needs of his (the speaker's) department so successfully, especially as regards the plans, that they now had many excellent buildings of the humbler type scattered throughout the state. Sir Swinton would probably himself admit that he had only arrived at perfection by degrees, and that his greatest difficulty was the adaptation of Indian buildings to European use. He (Colonel Hendley) had lived for years in a building skilfully adapted to his own

requirements by Sir S. Jacob ; but he was afraid, very much against the grain, of the architect, as he had to introduce features which added to comfort, but not very much to the beauty of the architecture. One great drawback in buildings in North India, as has been stated, was the lack of ventilation ; in fact, it was hardly considered at all. He had occupied rooms in several large palaces in Rajputana, but it was with the greatest difficulty he could obtain comfort, especially in regard to bathrooms, freedom from draughts, et cetera. This trouble was no doubt being met with success in new work in the Indian styles, but it could never be accomplished with satisfaction when old structures had to be adapted to European requirements. He did not think it was quite realized that many years before the time of which the lecturer spoke, the Public Works Department had been feeling after greatness in architecture. He remembered that there had been consulting architects long before the time of Lord Curzon in that department, and also that young engineers trained at Cooper's Hill, who went into the railway and perhaps into other branches, had been afforded opportunities before going out to India of studying architecture in Europe, or that they might be able to take advantage in like manner of opportunities of profiting by what they saw in good Indian styles.

LORD LAMINGTON, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that amongst those interesting slides exhibited to them, he thought one had been omitted which would have afforded the best specimen of modern architecture in Bombay, and which was also very well adapted inside to the requirements of an office ; he referred to the B.B.C.I. Railway Offices. He mentioned the passage where incidentally the lecturer alluded to new methods of construction. Of course, all architecture was dependent more or less on what materials they had to construct with ; that originally was the foundation of all the different types of architecture. With so many new sources of materials and new inventions, the engineer required to be called in to combine with the architect to produce the up-to-date style of buildings now required. From his own experience, for comfort of living in the East he would say the bungalow still was the best ; but it was possible that the disadvantages attaching to the erection of large buildings with one or more storeys had been overcome, and that such dwelling-houses had been rendered convenient for Europeans. He wished to congratulate the lecturer on his most interesting paper, which he thought was written on very sound lines indeed, and to thank him for the excellent series of slides he had shown to them that evening. He asked the audience to thank the lecturer by acclamation for his lecture, and also to thank their chairman at the same time for his kindness in presiding at their meeting. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR LOUIS DANE, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that some years ago he had the pleasure of collaborating with the lecturer at a great ceremonial function at Agra, where he got to know the great sympathy he had with Indian art, and his capacity for adapting Indian architectural designs to the purposes of a great ceremonial display. They would all agree as to the desirability of employing Indian architecture in India so far as com-

patible with the requirements of modern civilization. He thought that to a great extent modern architects had succeeded in combining those two essentials. Reference had been made to Bhai Ram Singh, and he would like to say that he was a perfect specimen of Indian craftsman and architect. In addition to the decoration of the ballroom at Osborne for Her Majesty, he also did the whole of the decorative work of the amphitheatre for the Durbar in 1903, and again on the occasion of the King's Durbar at the Coronation. He noticed, also, that his friend Mr. Ganga Ram had modestly concealed the fact that he was responsible for erecting the whole of the amphitheatre at the time of King Edward's Durbar, and also for a great deal of the work done at Delhi on the present occasion, so that he did not much doubt that competent Indian talent would be very largely available for employment at Delhi. He did not pretend to be a stylist, but the lecturer had said they must avoid the domination or tyranny of any one style. As a matter of fact, it would be quite as bad if they were to slavishly copy Indian buildings in existence as to copy European Renaissance buildings. Style in India was still evolving itself, and a more modern style adapted to modern requirements was being produced. The building of New Delhi was a grand opportunity for the development of such a style, beautiful in itself and suited to the country. He was quite certain the two eminent architects would make themselves familiar with Indian styles; in fact, he had had the pleasure of showing Mr. Lutyens and Mr. Baker the old Moghal buildings in Lahore when they came to see him, and they were so delighted with the plain but effective style of the old buildings, and with the tile decoration (they freely used old Persian tiling work there, a craft which had attained the zenith of its perfection in the time of Jehangir and Shah Jehan), that they offered prizes to the students, past and present, of the Lahore School of Art, for the production of panels illustrating the voyage of H.M. the King-Emperor to India, with a view of seeing whether it was not possible to utilize Oriental tiling work in some of the new buildings at Delhi. This showed that they did not contemplate a purely European style for all buildings. He would like to say that the Government of India, in the case of Delhi, had gone about matters in the ordinary Indian way, which is not at all a bad way; they asked the Panjab Government, which was responsible for Delhi up to October 1, 1912, what they would suggest in the way of sites and layout. The Panjab Government submitted suggestions dealing with the present civil station site, and also proposed a new site to the south. The question of securing a lake-side effect by putting a weir across the Jamna was also dealt with. All this was done early in 1912. A rough idea of a layout was also given. Then, having got the opinion of the men on the spot, the Government of India called in expert advice, and he was delighted to find that the advice of the experts exactly corroborated what the local authorities had said, both as regards the sites and the layout, and for the very same reasons as advanced by the local authorities. From that fact, and from the interest shown by the two eminent architects in Indian buildings and Indian conditions, he thought they might have perfect confidence that the planning of the New Delhi could not be in more competent hands. (Hear, hear.)

He felt sure they would avail themselves freely of the services of Indian architects and craftsmen, and those eminent officers of the Public Works Department, like the lecturer, who had done so much to make public life in India more comfortable and dignified.

MR. H. STATHAM, in supporting the vote of thanks, said that architecture was the expression of ideas in plan, section, and structure; the detail came afterwards. He thought that official buildings built for a European Government in India must be planned by European architects. With all due deference to Mr. Oertel, they would find that the Renaissance architecture of Italy and France was full of varied beauty and individuality. His feeling all along had been that if they were going to build a town in India they should do as the Romans did; wherever the Roman eagles went the Roman triumphal arch and theatre went too. So he would say: Build in Delhi as they would in London, only with due regard to changed conditions and materials. In his opinion the Renaissance style was much better suited to a sunlit climate than to a Northern climate, and therefore he thought they might build a form of Renaissance architecture, with detail suited to India, and carried out by Indian craftsmen. He very much objected to hearing Gothic called first cousin to Indian architecture. It was not; Gothic was really derived straight from the Romans, through the Romanesque, and had nothing whatever to do with Indian architecture at all. He sincerely hoped to see an Indian form of Renaissance architecture taking shape in the near future in India.

MR. OERTEL in closing the discussion said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, beyond thanking you for the very kind reception accorded to my paper, I have little to add to what has been said, since most of it, as was to be expected from speakers familiar with India, is in thorough sympathy with my advocacy of Indian architecture. The only dissentient voice was that of the last speaker, Mr. H. Statham, who thinks that we should follow the example of the Romans by building in Delhi as we would in London, so that our buildings might proclaim our position as the conquering race in India. But he will pardon my pointing out that this is the very position which the English Government has repeatedly disavowed. We are no longer in India merely as conquerors maintaining our position by force, but as peaceful administrators, basing our rule on the consent and support of the people. The selection of a style for Delhi is therefore a question, not of what is most to *our* taste and liking, but of what suits India best and is most in harmony with the feelings of the Indians, especially since the mass of the people using the new public buildings will be Indian and not European.

I have no quarrel with the European Renaissance style *per se*. I quite agree with Mr. Statham that the architecture of Italy and France is full of varied beauty and individuality, and that the Renaissance style is best suited to a sunlit climate, such, in fact, as that of Greece and Italy, where it arose. But that alone does not make it suitable for India, or superior to the architecture native to the country, especially when, as I have attempted to show, this can be easily adapted to meet all modern requirements. Moreover, when settling on the design for the buildings of new Delhi, the

architects will naturally take into consideration local conditions and materials available on the spot. Among these, it appears to me, that not the least important is the natural aptitude and training of the craftsmen who will have to erect the buildings—a most valuable asset which it would be folly to neglect. But as I have previously pointed out, the Indian craftsmen are most helpful where their own indigenous art is concerned, and work at a distinct disadvantage in a style foreign to them.

In conclusion, I would like to express my indebtedness to all those who have taken part in the discussion, and to record my appreciation of the opportunity afforded me by the Council of the East India Association for reading this paper.

The following letters have been received by the Hon. Secretary :

It would be presumption on my part to offer an authoritative opinion on architecture, but I must say that, as a fine art, I look for it in vain in very modern English buildings, and I entirely concur with the author of the paper that Indian architecture is better suited for the new Capital than the Renaissance or any other English style. In modern Renaissance there seems to be no escape from the universal basement story simulating heavy coursed masonry ; this is generally only a veneer, and is a survival of defunct structural methods—rude, monotonous, and depressing. One misses the small windows of the Middle Ages, with their iron gratings:

Indian architecture is much more in harmony with the modern type of construction under which a steel skeleton sustains weight and wind pressure, while for roofs, floors, and partitions ferro-concrete is the strongest and cheapest material.

This system of construction economizes space, which, under the old style of building, was wasted in thick walls ; it also makes the ground floor as light and airy as those above.

The Indian climate necessitates verandas, columns, pilasters, arcades, cornices, corbels, and panelling of partitions, and various other accessory features afford scope for the mason's art. Whatever the predominant ideal of the building may be, whether grandeur and simplicity, or lightness and elegance, nothing can surpass the adaptability of Indian architecture to give expression to the sentiment in conformity with the imagination of the architect. Untrammeled by rigid laws and orders, it affords unlimited opportunity for the inventive genius of the artist, and, as the author of the paper has said, the dormant artistic talent of the Indian craftsman can be revived if proper training and encouragement is given.

Recent examples of British architecture show a tendency to borrow the worst and most florid features of the Italian Renaissance. Whatever is done, it is to be hoped that the new Capital will escape degradation by vulgar and meretricious decoration of its public buildings. A chaste and dignified style is before all essential to express to future generations the lofty ideals and Imperial genius of the British Government.

A word as to residential quarters. According to the map of the layout,

the roads, streets, and avenues are directed to all points of the compass. As, however, the buildings will be located in spacious compounds, it would be unnecessary to vary their aspect to conform to the varying direction of the roads. It is preferable that, following the usual custom in the plains of India, the houses should all be built with a southern aspect; they should be of one story only on a well raised plinth, like the quarters provided for the railway staff, which can be built at low rate per cubic foot of contents. These houses are spacious, with verandas all round, the lofty interior rooms having clerestory windows and flat roofs. The brick pillars and semicircular arches of the veranda are the chief external features—nothing more artistic can be conceived. With abundance of the finest building stone available, the veranda might, at light additional cost, be supported on stone shafts, with perforated stone panelling to exclude the sun, or the verandas might have sloping roofs carried on corbelled cantilevers.

The general design and architectural treatment of staff quarters to give distinctive character, and avoid depressing monotonous repetition, affords an excellent opportunity for the student of the Indian craftsman.

BRADFORD LESLIE.

July 27, 1913.

I should like to add my voice to the chorus of approval and appreciation with which Mr. Oertel's most interesting paper has been received, and, as a late member of the Public Works Department, to thank him for his defence of, what he styles, "that much-maligned service," which, in spite of all "growing" (pardon the pun), has shown by many imperishable monuments in all parts of India, that, in spite of standard plans, it contains men who are artists as well as engineers. I remember when travelling by the recently opened Magda-Muttra line of the B.B. and C.I. Railway, being much struck by the graceful designs in the Indian style of many of the railway station buildings, showing that, in addition to the architect's named in the paper and to Mr. Harris and Mr. Oertel himself, both of the Public Works Department, there are others in the service who, when they are allowed a free hand, can rise above the despised "Public Works style," and can combine a convenient and suitable plan according to modern requirements, with the graceful shapes and proportions which reflect the spirit and feeling of the country.

Lord Lamington is the only speaker who has an intimate knowledge of Bombay, and he will perhaps pardon a smile at his expression of regret that no picture of the B.B. and C.I. offices in Bombay was shown on the screen. It did actually appear there, though the lecturer seemed to mistake it for the municipal offices building, which when it appeared on the screen immediately after, he referred to merely as "another Bombay building." I was rather surprised also that neither the lecturer nor Lord Lamington mentioned the charming building of the Aryuman-i-Islam in Hornby Road, which I have always greatly admired. It was the work of Mr. Wilcocks, who, although belonging to the railway branch of the Public Works Department, officiated for a time as Consulting Architect to

Government in Bombay. As an example of how such talent as his was appreciated by the powers that be, I believe I am right in saying that he has never since been employed on anything but railway surveys and constructions! As an architect there is no reason why he should not have made as great a name for himself as his distinguished brothers, Sir James Wilcocks and Sir William Wilcocks, have done in their respective spheres.

Bombay is fortunate at present in having as consulting architect, Mr. Wittett, who is doing a great work for architecture in that city. His building for the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay, which is approaching completion, is a fine example of the adaptation of Indian styles to modern requirements, and the great "Gate of India," of which the foundation-stone was laid on the Apollo Bunder by Lord Sydenham a few days before his departure, and which is to commemorate the landing there of their Imperial Majesties on December 4, 1911, will be a lasting memorial to his skill and ability. The course in architecture which he conducts at the J. J. School of Art in Bombay is likely to have most useful results in helping towards that revival of Indian art by Indians themselves to which the lecturer refers, and this is also being fostered in Bombay by the excellent work of Mr. Cecil Burns, the Principal of the School of Art, especially in the decorative and pottery branches of the school. What is apparently wanting is the scope for the future employment of students at this and similar institutions, and it is true that, in the absence of wealthy private patrons of art, Government should step in. The building and decorating of the new Delhi offers an opportunity in this direction, which I hope will not be neglected.

G. OWEN DUNN.

I entirely agree with all that Mr. Oertel has said with regard to abandoning our attempt to force Western styles into India. The main reason why our building record in India is so deplorable is that we have always bound ourselves hand and foot to one or another of the recognized styles of architecture, and in my opinion we should do well, as I think Mr. Oertel implies, to avoid any slavish copying of the native work. There is no style of architecture, either Western or Eastern, suited in its entirety to European dwellers in the plains, and I think the lesson to be learnt from the buildings which have figured on the screen this afternoon is that our modern efforts at Indian architecture, though in many instances highly creditable to their designers, cannot be compared at all favourably with the older works of native architects, and this will always be the case so long as we are content to merely imitate and refrain from building honestly for our own needs. I cordially endorse Mr. Oertel's plea for delay in order that the English architects who have been selected to design the Delhi buildings may have ample opportunity to study and understand the native architecture of India, and during this interlude I would strongly advocate that some of the more promising of the native designers should be given facilities for visiting Europe for the purpose of

acquiring an intimate knowledge of the building methods and requirements of the West. Until we have done this, and have freed our designers from the cramping restrictions of style, it is futile to expect from them a full expression of their powers.

JAMES RANSOME.

So far as I know, no attack has been made on the personnel of the Public Works Department. Many, indeed most of them, may be said to have performed the duties allotted to them by the departmental system with conspicuous ability. Individually the Public Works Department needs no defence. What is indefensible is the system by which the best native architects have been excluded from participation in all important official architectural works in India, so that even an officer of such long experience and wide sympathy as Mr. Oertel finds it hard to ascertain where they are to be found, and how their services can be utilized. In this respect Mr. Oertel's paper is a little out of date, for he does not allude to the mass of information bearing on the subject in Mr. Marshall's report on Modern Indian Architecture, recently published by the Government of India, with a prefatory note by the Consulting Architect. Unless the real facts are fully known and appreciated the adaptation of the Western architect's methods to Indian conditions, which Mr. Oertel so rightly insists upon, cannot be made, and for that reason it is of the utmost importance that the preliminary investigations now begun by the Government of India should be systematically carried out in every province. Only when the ability of the modern Indian builder is fully recognized will it be possible to establish that sympathy between the European architect and the Indian architect-craftsman, without which it is hopeless to expect that official architecture in India will become a living art.

Mr. Oertel's paper is valuable for showing that Indian methods of building are not necessarily more expensive than European. His suggestion that British architects should be given opportunities for studying Indian buildings is an excellent one. I think he has not made quite clear to the lay mind the distinction between architectural drawing and architecture. The former can be taught in schools, but architecture can only be learnt by practical experience on the site of buildings. The best architectural design on paper, in whatever style it may be, will produce very poor architecture if there is not sympathy and understanding between the architect and the builders. Since India already possesses a splendid school of architectural practice, the essential thing is to bring the official architect and the Indian craftsman together on the site of every official building, instead of separating them by rules and formularies which ignore Indian conditions and make real architecture an impossibility. I have no doubt that the Public Works architects in India will be able to adapt Indian craftsmanship to departmental needs and thus create a new development of Indian architecture, when the *vis inertiae* of the old departmental tradition allows them to do so.

E. B. HAVELL

Mr. Oertel did me the honour to suggest that I should preside on the occasion of his reading this paper, but absence from England prevented me from being present when it was read and discussed. The plea which he makes for the proper representation of Indian architecture in the buildings of the new capital merits, so far as I am able to judge, the closest attention of the architects entrusted with the duty of planning them, and will doubtless receive it. I should like to add a word of testimony to the great merits of Bhai Ram Singh, M.V.O., based on the work which he executed for the Durbar Committee in 1911. The Public Works Department has, I venture to think, made a great advance in the style of the public buildings designed and erected by it in different parts of India. This advance has been inspired, in a great measure, by the influence of Sir Swinton Jacob, whose advice and criticism will be available for the architects of new Delhi.

J. P. HEWETT.

THE FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE year under report has been one of steady progress. No less than 117 new Members have joined the Association since the beginning of the year, and though this increase has not been so great as the Hon. Secretary hoped it would be, it cannot be considered otherwise than satisfactory. If it were more generally known that Membership is open to ladies, they would perhaps join the Association in greater numbers, and would doubtless find a wide field for their sympathetic activities in furthering the objects it has in view. Only two lady Members have been enrolled during the year. The increased interest taken in the welfare of the Association by the influential gentry of India is, however, a subject for special congratulation. It shows that the efforts of the East India Association for the good of the Empire and for the benefit of the people of India generally are becoming more and more appreciated by the leading classes of the Indian community, and that the provision of a non-party platform for the free and impartial discussion, in a loyal and temperate spirit, of all questions concerning the good of India is serving a useful purpose, and justifies its inclusion in the Objects and Policy of the Association, while the promulgation of sound and trustworthy information regarding the weighty problems awaiting solution in India are steadily kept in view. This is the spirit in which the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* is edited—"A fair hearing and no favour" being its motto. The *Review* has been renamed the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, in lieu of its late

somewhat cumbersome title, and efforts are being made to extend its scope, and to secure continued interest and added variety in its articles.'

The *Review* has now passed under new Editorship. Dr. Badenoch, who had, since the death of Dr. Leitner, been its capable and trustworthy Editor, died on February 4, 1912, and then Mrs. Leitner, the widow of Dr. Leitner, very kindly offered the *Review* as a free gift to the Association; but after careful consideration by a Sub-Committee, of which Sir Arundel T. Arundel was Chairman, the Council did not see its way to undertake the editorial and financial responsibility involved, and therefore declined the offer with suitable acknowledgments. Subsequently, Mrs. Leitner contemplated making other arrangements; but her sudden death on May 24, 1912, put a stop to further negotiations, and her son, Mr. Henry Leitner, has now decided to retain the proprietorship in his own hands, continuing to supply the Association with copies of the *Review* as required on the same terms as heretofore, and this arrangement has worked with success during the year under report.

The Pamphlets, edited by Mr. J. B. Pennington under the instructions of the Council, have been found so useful that it has been decided to reissue them in book form, and this is now being done. It is desirable that it should be made known as widely as possible that this handy volume of "Truths about India" can now, from this time forward, be supplied by this Association at the very moderate price of one shilling.

The Lectures during the year have been interesting and well attended; and, as suggested by the President, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, efforts were made to secure Lecturers with recent knowledge and experience of India, and the Council were pleased to obtain a Paper from Mr. S. H. Fremantle on "Co-operation in India," and one from Mr. Grant Brown on "A Common Alphabet for India." Both these gentlemen are on active service in India. The discussions following the readings of the various Papers have proved most instructive, and some of

the views expressed in the course of these discussions have attracted wide attention. This was notably the case with regard to the suggestions made by Sir Bradford Leslie in dealing with Mr. E. B. Havell's paper on "The Building of the New Delhi." Sir Bradford pointed out the possibility of rendering old Delhi more healthy while constructing the new Capital, and his suggestions attracted the attention and consideration of the Government of India. The thanks of the Council are due to the Lecturers who have so readily helped the Association with Papers, and to the gentlemen who have so kindly taken the Chair from time to time.

In response to an invitation from the Royal Asiatic Society, this Association took part in the deputation from the learned Societies introduced by Lord Reay which waited on the President of the Board of Education (the Right Hon. Joseph Albert Pease, M.P.), on December 12, 1912, to urge that the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum should be better housed and placed under expert management. Lord Reay pleaded that India had a right to be represented in London on an adequate scale, and that a museum well equipped and managed by experts would attract those who, in India and the United Kingdom, were able to endow it from their own collections. His Lordship pointed out that omissions in the past had to be redeemed, and that steps should be taken to prevent foreign museums from acquiring Indian art specimens which ought to find a permanent home in London. In his reply the President clearly expressed his views as to the desirability

- (1) of keeping the Indian Collection intact, and
- (2) of securing at no distant date a museum in which this Collection should be adequately and appropriately housed.

With reference to the dastardly outrage perpetrated during the Viceroy's State entry into Delhi, the Council passed a resolution congratulating Lord and Lady Hardinge on their providential escape, and expressing their deep

admiration of the presence of mind, fortitude and courage displayed by their Excellencies on the occasion. In reply Council received a letter thanking them for their cordial resolution, and saying how convinced His Excellency was that the feeling amongst the great majority of Indians in London, as in India, was one of indignation and horror at the outrage.

At the Annual General Meeting held on Wednesday, June 12, 1912, the Right Hon. Lord Reay was unanimously re-elected President. H. H. the Aga Khan, the Hon. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Sir Henry Seymour King, and Sir Joseph West Ridgeway were elected Vice-Presidents, and Sir Walter Charleton Hughes was elected a Member of Council.

Just at the close of the year the Association has had to deplore the death of Dr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., who was one of the oldest Members of its Council, and had served it so ably and well for so many years with voice and pen. Up to a year before his death Dr. Thornton used to come up regularly from Bath to attend Council Meetings, besides helping the Association from time to time from his distant home in connection with the work of the Literary Committee. He had a long and wide experience of India, his sympathy with her peoples was very real, and his knowledge of their wants and aspirations proved of the greatest value. In Sir Raymond West also the Association has lost an old and valued Member who frequently took part in the discussions, and was always ready to help the Association with his advice, ripe experience and extensive erudition.

The following papers were read during the year :

June 12, 1912. — William Durran, Esq., "Some Defects in the Legal Systems of England, India and America." Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., in the chair.

July 16, 1912. — R. H. Shipley, Esq., "'The Crisis in India,' from an Indian point of view." The Right Hon. the Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

October 21, 1912.—E. B. Havell, Esq., “The Building of the New Delhi.” Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

October 30, 1912.—G. E. R. Grant Brown, Esq., I.C.S., “A Common Alphabet for India.” Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

November 25, 1912.—Colonel A. F. Laughton, C.B., “Burma, the Third Burmese War, and Indian Mythology.” General Sir Harry N. D. Prendergast, G.C.B., V.C., in the chair.

December 16, 1912.—S. H. Fremantle, Esq., I.C.S., “Co-operation in India.” Henry W. Wolf, Esq., in the chair.

January 20, 1913.—Sir Guilford Lindsey Molesworth, K.C.I.E., “Industrial India.” The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

February 10, 1913.—P. C. Tarapore, Esq., F.R.G.S., “Mass Education for India.” The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., in the chair.

March 18, 1913.—John Claude White, Esq., C.I.E., “Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet.” Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

April 21, 1913.—Mark B. F. Major, Esq., “The Relation of the Currency to the Social and Economic Progress of India.” Sir George Paish, Editor of the *Statist*, in the chair.

The following Pamphlets have been issued during the year:

“Mr. Hyndman, The ‘Times,’ and the Truth about the ‘Drain.’”

“Does the Indian Government provide ‘Work for All’?”

One hundred and seventeen new members were elected during the year.

Twenty-one members resigned during the year.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

Sir James Austin Bourdillon, K.C.S.I.

Aboobuker Elias, Esq.

Dewan Bahadur Ragunath Rao, C.S.I.

T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I.

Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E.

The total net increase of Members during the year was ninety.

The income for the year ending April 30, 1913 (including balance at bankers and cash in hand), amounted to £920 11s. 10d. Expenditure £580 16s. 11d. Balance in hand and at bankers £339 14s. 11d.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE forty-sixth annual general meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, June 23, 1913, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., President, in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. R. E. Forrest, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. K. S. Jassawalla, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. R. C. C. Carr, I.C.S., Mr. F. H. Barrow, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. A. Burmon, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. W. Corfield, Mr. H. O. D. Harding, I.C.S., and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I have pleasure in proposing the adoption of the Report, which we may take as read. I think you will all admit that the Report is exceedingly satisfactory; to begin with it states that no less than 117 new members have joined the Association since the beginning of the year. Of course, our Hon. Secretary will never be satisfied even if we have 1,000 candidates; but I am sure you will all agree with me that we owe him a vote of thanks for the infinite trouble he has taken in these welcome additions to our number. (Hear, hear.)

Then the Report also calls attention to the fact that only two lady members have been enrolled during the year, and I may say that we shall be very gratified if the fair sex finds amongst us a more numerous representation. As we all know, there is the great subject of medical aid in India, in which the co-operation of ladies would be of great value to us. (Hear, hear.)

Then the Report says that the leading classes of the Indian community are more and more appreciating the fact that we have what is very properly called a non-party platform for the free and impartial discussion of everything that concerns India, and in this connection I was rather pleased to see in a paper which is published in Madras, called the *Wednesday Review*, in alluding to the suggestion that we should have an Indian Hall and Museum, the remark that "we should welcome any agency which can teach the people of England to do their duty better by India, and this we gladly acknowledge the East India Association is doing, and we cannot be too grateful to friends like Dr. Pollen and Mr. Pennington, who spare no pains in making this Association a centre of activity to further the cause of India." That shows our efforts are appreciated in India itself.

Then, as you are all aware, the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* has now come under the directorship of Mr. Henry Leitner, the son of the late Dr. Leitner. The Association will continue to receive copies of the *Review*, and the *Review* will still be the authorized publication for our proceedings.

The pamphlets which Mr. Pennington edits with so much care have been found so useful that the Council have decided that they are to be gathered into a handy volume, which will bear the title of "Truths about India"; and will be supplied by this Association at the moderate price of one shilling.

I think you will all agree with me that the papers which have been read here during the year, and which have elicited very interesting discussions, have all been of a high order, and that a variety of subjects have been ably handled, and I am sure you will also agree with the Report that the thanks of the Council are due to the lecturers who have so readily placed their services at our disposal, and to the gentlemen who have taken the chair from time to time.

The next thing which the Report mentions is the part we took in the deputation to the Board of Education with regard to what is now called the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. That certainly ought to be transformed into a really independent Indian Museum. The President of the Board of Education (the Right Hon. Mr. Pease) expressed as his own opinion that it was desirable to keep the Indian Section intact, securing at no distant date a museum in which this collection should be adequately and properly housed. Meanwhile, I may mention that the President of the Board of Education has appointed an Advisory Council for the Victoria and Albert Museum, of which Council I have the honour to be chairman—(Hear, hear)—and several sub-committees have been appointed for the various departments of the museum, one of which is a sub-committee for the Indian Section. These committees are not numerous; but in that sub-committee we have Lord Lytton as one of the members, Sir Everard im Thurn, and myself, and we are to meet on June 25 to go into the whole question of the needs of the Indian Museum and its deficiencies, so that you will see that at all events some progress has been made. The question will now no longer be overlooked, and I have every hope that the advice of that Advisory Council will lead ere long to a satisfactory result.

There is another matter which is not mentioned in the Report, but to which I am sure you would like me to allude, and that is the progress that has been made with regard to a school for Oriental languages. A house has now been acquired, which some of you may know—the Old London Institution in Finsbury Circus—and that is a building admirably suited for the purpose; the school has been placed there in order to make access to the lectures easy for students of Oriental languages in the city. As you are aware, the matter is now being dealt with by a committee of which Lord Cromer is the chairman and to which also belongs Lord Curzon. They have acquired that building, and in the Report of the Royal Commission presided over by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Haldane), which deals with the reform of the London University, there are recommendations in accordance with those of the committee, of which I had the honour to be chairman, where we distinctly urged the necessity of an Indian School being incorporated with the University of London. The Lord Chancellor's Commission confirms that view, and constitutes it a department of the University, allied, of course, to the Faculty of Arts of the University. There is, of course, a risk that there will be some delay, because from my experience, although reforms are not so difficult to suggest, they are much more difficult to carry out; therefore I am afraid we shall have to be patient. Meantime, I believe it is contemplated that the Oriental School will be started as soon as the funds which are necessary to give it a good start are forthcoming. I believe that the Government will give a grant, and I suppose the Government of India will also give a grant, and there may also be grants from commercial houses in the city, and from City Corporations who understand the great importance of it. It will, of course, include not only India, but what is necessary for China and Japan and our interests there; and in that Oriental School will be found all that is required to bring us up to the level of such schools as those which exist in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg.

The Report next alludes to the terrible outrage at Delhi, and to the reply from the Viceroy which the Council have received to the letter thanking us for our cordial resolution.

Before I sit down I have to ask you to pay a tribute of respect to two very distinguished members of this Association; in the first place, Dr. Thornton, whom we all remember as one of the most assiduous members at our meetings, and who, up to a very old age, as long as his strength allowed him, never ceased to take an interest in everything that concerned India. Even when his strength almost failed him he still tried to be present and to show how cordially he welcomed any attempt to increase the knowledge of India in London. The next great loss this Association has suffered is that of my old and esteemed friend, Sir Raymond West, a man, as you all know, of very wide learning; a man who had a great critical faculty, and not only that, but he also had a great power of organization. I was associated with him, in a most pleasant way, in India, and it always struck me that very few men had such an extensive knowledge of everything connected with India, and so truly understood the real interests of India, as Sir Raymond West. He was much respected in India by the

European community and by his own colleagues in the distinguished service of which he was such an ornament, and also by the whole of the native community. I ask you to give a tribute of respect to the memory of those two distinguished members. (Hear, hear.)

Now we are on the eve of another year, and I only hope that the next year will be as profitable as the last has been, and that we shall be able to diminish the extraordinary ignorance which still prevails alas! in England with regard to India, and that our efforts to correct that very great mischief will be crowned with success. I move the adoption of the Report.

SIR ROBERT FULTON seconded the adoption of the Report, and on being put to the meeting it was carried unanimously.

SIR LESLEY PROBYN said he thought the time had come when they might adopt a grander name, significant of the fact that they represented the Indian Empire. Being an Empire he thought India could not come into the same category as the Colonies which were represented by the Colonial Institute. The new title ought in some way to identify the Institution with the East India Association.

The CHAIRMAN said the Council would consider the hint. Certainly at present there was some confusion. He suggested a sub-Committee might be appointed in order to inquire into the possibility of changing the name to one more appropriate. They must be very careful that the new name, however, should not extinguish the traditions of the Association, because that very often led to unsatisfactory results. In any transformation of name the new one should be as near an approach to the existing name as possible.

On being put to the meeting the proposal to appoint a sub-Committee was carried unanimously. The Honorary Secretary explained that the Council had already taken action in this direction.

THE CHAIRMAN said he ought to draw their attention to the satisfactory condition of their accounts, and to the great pains that had been taken in order that their income should at last balance their expenditure. If he was not mistaken, that was the first time he had been able to draw attention to this very satisfactory feature. Their thanks were due to their Honorary Secretary for the very auspicious result. (Hear, hear.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said they were fortunate in having had Lord Reay as their President, and were indebted to him for his kindness in assisting, and in advising. He begged to propose that his Lordship accept the post of President for the ensuing year. (Hear, hear.)

MR. COLDSTREAM, in seconding the proposal, said they might search London and not find anyone so well fitted for the important office, or with a more earnest desire for the promotion of the objects they all had at heart. He was glad to hear the suggestion that something should be done to accentuate the importance of their Association in London, where there certainly was *no adequate presentment of India* at the present time.

LORD REAY: Gentlemen, I need not say I am very much touched by your unanimity in this matter. One does not get younger, and a time may come when a younger man ought to be at the head of this Association, and when you change the name you may perhaps also be of opinion that you ought to change your President as well.

On the motion of Dr. Pollen, seconded by Sir James Wilson, the Maharajah of Kolhapur was unanimously elected as Vice-President.

MR. THORBURN proposed that the following Members of Council, who retired by rotation, be re-elected: Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.; Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E.; Mr. J. B. Pennington, Sir Lesley C. Probyn, K.C.V.O.; Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.; Mr. R. F. Chisholm; Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore. This was seconded and carried unanimously.

MR. WHITWORTH said he thought there seemed a want of connection between the general body of members and the Council in reference to re-election. It seemed to him more a question of co-option than of election. The practice struck him as being a little open to objection. It was not possible for a member to stand up and say he objected to such and such a name. In the present case he was prepared to believe the names suggested were the best possible, but the system seemed unsatisfactory.

The Secretary explained that those who were proposed were the retiring members who were eligible for re-election. But the submission of their names did not preclude the proposal of other names, and if any member of the Association desired to propose any candidate for the Council he could be elected at this meeting. The Secretary undertook to see that this would be made plainer when summoning the Annual Meetings in future.

MR. COLDSTREAM said he associated himself with that remark of Mr. Whitworth's that the notice should not appear as a kind of instruction to the Meeting. He thought it was sufficient to say that those gentlemen were eligible for re-election.

The CHAIRMAN said that perhaps the point might be met next year. He suggested that members of the Association should be invited to send in names of candidates to the Council if they had any proposals to make, and that those names should be circulated to the members; he thought that would meet the point.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I. MALAYAN MONOCHROMES. By Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G. (London : John Murray.)

This collection of Malayan stories, most of which have already appeared in various periodicals, should appeal to the general reader no less than to those who know the Peninsula and its peoples. Though not, obviously, of equal merit, the stories are all very readable ; and, taken as a whole, this book proves that the author's earlier and, to that extent, fresher studies in the same field could yet be followed by an aftermath well worth the reaping.

Fact and fiction, humour and sentiment—with occasional streaks of the horrible and gruesome—are cunningly blended in these pictures of an Eastern world brought vividly before the reader in numerous descriptive passages of great force and insight. Where not based on actual facts—and many of these stories recall very similar occurrences within our own experience—they may still be accepted as a faithful rendering of the conditions and characters sought to be depicted therein. One of those we like best is a simple but charming tale describing the unaided flight of two little Malay slave girls from their bondage with a cruel master ; another recording the nemesis or retribution which overtook a travelled infidel Malay in his attempts to ride roughshod over native simplicity and piety on his return to his village home as a "big man" ; and yet another, entitled "Cholera on a Chinese Junk," a study in humour and horror, which illustrates the typical Chinese spirit in a crisis. That spirit, we believe, expresses something more than a mere philosophy of "the devil take the hindmost," John Chinaman holding that the graver the crisis the more essential it is to take a strictly business-like view of the situation, and to carry that view to its logical conclusion, with no weak indulgence in any sentiment tending to obscure the main issue. Accordingly we are tempted to instance the case of three Chinese fishermen, who on reaching their fish-trap—an enclosure of high stakes set up on the tidal sands which fringe the coast, and often extend many miles out to sea—were vastly delighted one morning, after a prolonged spell of bad luck, to find the trap full of fish, and then utterly dismayed by the unexpected appearance within it of a huge

crocodile that had somehow managed to forestall them. The tide was fast rising, and any delay would have meant the total loss of the fish. But the idea of abandoning such an exceptional catch was, of course, too unbusiness-like to be entertained for a moment by poor folk like these. The fish had been caught, and must clearly be secured at all costs. So they promptly decided that all three must enter the enclosure together, each taking his equal chance of falling a victim to the crocodile, or of profiting not alone by his normal third-share in the catch, but also by the reversion of the actual victim's share therein. This they did, and the result justified their calculations. The crocodile immediately pounced on one poor wretch, and carried him off screaming into the outer waters, while the surviving partners collected the fish without further ado, returned thanks to Providence, and "went on their way rejoicing." So, again, we are tempted to supplement the story of "Mir Maluk, Sepoy," by reference to a like cruel murder of his Sikh superior by a man of this breed—an occurrence which this tale has vividly recalled to our memory. In a certain gaol in the State of Perak, having both Sikhs and Pathans among its native staff, sudden revolver-shots and loud challenges broke the stillness of one dark night some two years ago, the sounds coming from an outlying block of the gaol buildings patrolled by a Pathan sub-warder. Almost immediately afterwards that sub-warder appeared in the guard-room, handed over his revolver, and reported that in the darkness he had thrice fired at, and seriously wounded, the Sikh senior warder on his rounds, whom he had mistaken for an escaping prisoner because, on giving three separate challenges, he had unaccountably received no reply whatsoever. He brought his superiors to the spot, where the Sikh was found mortally wounded and unconscious, with two bullets lodged in his body, and there explained in detail, pointing out each position in turn precisely how the "unfortunate accident" had occurred. Unlike Mir Maluk in the story, this man's self-possession and general bearing produced so favourable an impression that no suspicion of foul play was entertained by the European gaoler until the following morning, when the third missing bullet was found embedded in the innermost recess of a big wall-buttress, on the opposite side to that from which the shots were said to have been fired—a most unfortunate discovery for the Pathan, since no mere deflection of the bullet, but nothing less than an impossible return almost on the line of its flight, could now be made to square with his version. That discovery once made, other damaging facts soon came to light: reports of a recent quarrel between the Pathans and the Sikh senior warder; evidence by prisoners in the block that two almost simultaneous shots had actually preceded the two first and almost simultaneous challenges; with a mass of corroborative detail from various sources, leading eventually to the Pathan's trial and clear conviction on the capital charge. In "A Familiar Spirit" we are introduced to a Malay potentate of a type now happily extinct, yet such as it often fell to the lot of the early British administrators to wrestle with in their attempts to establish some measure of law and order in the country. It was this same Sultan, we believe, who used peremptorily, and without the least pretence of discussion, to

reject the carefully considered proposals of those sorely-tried officials whenever the periodical meetings of the State Council found him—as they usually did—in his natural ill-humoured and domineering mood; while, in his rarer moments of amiability, he would, with equal promptness, and with a similar disregard of the merits, cheerfully acquiesce in the very same proposals which he had hitherto so emphatically rejected.

The two last, and longest, stories in the book do not, apart from certain descriptive passages, appeal to us quite so much as many of the shorter tales. The former of these, "The Quest of the Golden Fleece," deals with a somewhat horrible adventure among the savage Muruts of Borneo, and rather lacks sufficient spice of humour to relieve the harsh ugliness of the story. The latter, entitled "The Skulls in the Forest," an imaginary tale of a fascinating and fatal spot on the Malay coast haunted by the ghosts of certain fifteenth-century adventurers, is skilfully constructed, but fails to convince us—possibly because of some inherent incongruity between the Western theme and the distinctive Malayan setting of the story, which seems to call for native ghosts rather than foreign, or, at any rate, for somewhat less ancient ghosts than these.

The final sketch, "In the Half-Light," is a sort of retrospect and comparison between the past and the present in Malaya. Its moral is enforced by a parable, and the author concludes as follows: "But now I was comforted. . . . I had, with the youngsters around me, been tempted for a space to look at the past—hallowed by the dim beauties of memory—even as men see things with their ugliness mercifully veiled, when they gaze upon them in the half-light. Now, in a flash, life in Malaya was revealed to me as it was and is; and I was glad because the Past—with all its bravery, all its romance, and all its ills—was dead."

On this our only comment would be that recent developments have been such as threaten soon to convert the author's Present itself into the Past, or, at any rate, into a rapidly vanishing intermediate stage of all too brief duration.—G. J. A.

2. **THE WAY OF CONTENTMENT.** Translated from the Japanese of Kaibara Ekken, by Ken Hoshino. Wisdom of the East Series. (London: John Murray. 1913.)

This small volume treats of the morals delivered by Confucius, and therefore embodies the philosophy of both Chinese and Japanese sages. The precepts expounded by Kaibara Ekken were eminently suited to the era in which this form of religious teaching was accepted and reasoned out. Before Kaibara Ekken's time this did not come within the reach of all; but being intent on benefiting those who were not sufficiently cultured to reach the Chinese classics, he decided on a bold departure, and "finally broke the tradition of scholars, and wrote his books on the ethics, in Kana mixed with easy Chinese characters, which would be intelligible to the bulk of the people." This succeeded beyond the benevolent hopes of the sage, and earned the approval of the great Iyeyasu, who had hitherto been opposed to such a scheme. All that is set forth helps us to understand

the ethical condition of the two great nations. The principles upon which they governed their lives were sound enough, though hard to live up to, unless the followers of this stern philosophy were possessed of calm content, together with perfect resignation to the will of Heaven without a murmur.

Whether or no the precepts put into simple language by the gentle sage will satisfy the present generation it is hard to foretell. The contemplative mind inclined and throve on the moral and humanitarian principles of Confucianism in the past; but is not the Yamato race of to-day bent on relying on its own experiences and conclusions, rather than on those that won for its ancestors reverence and renown?

This, however, is not so much the object of "The Way of Contentment." The expositions of Kaibara Ekken have been translated by Ken Hoshino into English as a contribution to these excellent little cameos of Eastern lore intended to be the means of sowing the seed of good-fellowship between the East and West. "The Four Seasons" are prettily described—purely Oriental in conception and word-painting.—S.

3. THROUGH SHEN-KAN. By R. S. Clark and A. de C. Sowerby.
(London : T. Fisher Unwin.)

There is nothing but good to be said about this book, which is a most artistic production in every way, and reflects great credit upon the authors, besides being a *chef d'œuvre*, from the publisher's point of view. Unfortunately, the expedition was unable to achieve all that it had in view owing to the murder, in June, 1909, of Hazrat Ali, one of the most active, practical, and indispensable members of the gallant party. The Viceroy, Shêngyün, was, shortly after that sad event, promptly dismissed by the Regent, the British demand for satisfaction having come to him very much apropos at the moment, for the cantankerous Mongol satrap had been protesting rather too outspokenly against the proposed grant of a constitution to China, so that the Peking Government, which, of course, was not overwhelmingly in love with constitutions, was able to kill two birds with one stone. Two years previous to that the same Mongol Viceroy, Shêngyün, had had a hammer-and-tongs dispute with his provincial treasurer, Fan Tsêng-siang (now a high republican official in the provinces); and he is also freely mentioned, two years later than that, in Mr. Keyte's stirring book about the revolution of October, 1911, in Si-an Fu, where the ex-Viceroy, then reduced to subordinate military rank, endeavoured to oppose the republicans in the interests of the Manchus, and was appointed Governor of Shen Si. Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, one of the joint authors of the admirable book now under notice, is the chief hero of all the three books upon the Si-an Fu revolution, and is the well-known founder of the now celebrated "Sowerby's Horse," which gallantly rode across North China in order to rescue the missionaries of Shen Si, who were then believed to be in imminent danger of massacre, if not massacred already. About half of the present book consists of narrative, and the other half of scientific data, tables, etc. The numerous photographic illustrations,

especially the pictures of strange animals, are beyond all praise, and lend quite a permanent value to the book. Some of the shooting country seems to have been covered the same or the following year by Mr. Fenwick-Owen ("Sport and Travel in China"), and also by Mr. H. F. Wallace and the Duke of Bedford. The *takkin*, a sort of sheep-headed ox, extends much farther north-east than had previously been supposed; presumably the species mentioned by Mr. Sowerby (p. 48) is the *Budorcas bedfordi*, which, it would appear, is a much lighter-coloured animal than the *B. taxicolor* of Assam and the *B. tibetanus* of the Sz Ch'wan western frontier line. Mr. Sowerby has been characterized by one of his ardent admirers as a "born naturalist," and certainly his sagacious selection of photographed living and rare animals lays the naturalist world under a great obligation to him; he has one striking picture of a mole-rat (*Myospylax*), but none of the rare *Scaptochirus gillesei*, the description of which (p. 172) suggests identity with the *Scapanulus Oweni* of Mr. Fenwick-Owen—if an ignoramus in natural history may so far presume. During the course of their wanderings one traveller struck the tomb of the mother of the Han Dynasty founder, and also that of the notorious first Emperor, "destroyer of the books" exactly 2,100 years ago, whose work the Han founder and his successors remedied as best they could, finally re-establishing Confucian lore. Mr. McCormick ("The Flowery Republic") appears to have passed some equally interesting imperial tombs in Shan Tung province, and Father Mathias Tchang, S.J. ("Variétés Sinologiques," No. 33) has also quite recently explored a number of dynastic tombs between Chinkiang and Nanking. In every one of these tombs important archaeological finds are certain to be the reward of intelligent "prospectors"; but, it must be added, ever since MM. Stein and Pelliot spirited away the 20,000 or so of ancient volumes from the grottos of Tun-hwang—the "mouth of the desert" far to the west of Si-an Fu—the Chinese Government has been on the *qui vive* for "rights recovery" in antiquities, and is even establishing museums of its own. The striking portrait of Pi Jung-pei, Prefect of Police at Yü-lin Fu, bears a marvellous resemblance, alike in dress, feature, and pose, to Mr. Lytton as the "Susceptible Chancellor" in "Iolanthe"; the pictures are indeed a joy in themselves, apart from the great scientific value of the book and the interesting incidents of travel. At Ku-yüan Chou the authors came across the tomb of the famous fire-eater, Tung Fuh-siang (p. 72), the "Protector" of Peking during the Boxer rebellion: he was originally a rebel himself, but fifty years ago he turned against his Mussulman friends, and became over a period of thirty years their most deadly adversary; his last exploit was to quash the Muhammadan revolt of 1905. It is curious that the irresistibly jovial old General Kiang Kwei-t'i, who similarly "protected" Peking with his ragamuffins during the revolution of 1911-12, was also a Muhammadan; his official services date from so far back as 1884, when he banged the Nien-fei rebels about. However, there is so much in the book to attract readers of all tastes, and to suggest reminiscences and comparisons, that in view of the limited space at our disposal we can only advise the curious to buy a copy promptly for themselves; it is equally suitable for the drawing-room table, for the boudoir, and for the study. The price is at first sight

pretty stiff, but the materials, physical and mental, are solid in every sense, the work done is multifarious and enduring, and evidently no expense has been spared by Mr. Clark—the moneyed man of the party—to give the public its full value.—E. H. PARKER.

4. THE INNER LIFE AND THE TAO-TEH-KING. By C. H. A. Bjerregaard, Librarian, New York Public Library. (New York: *The Theosophical Publishing Co.*)

This is a metaphysical work, as its subject, its name, and the names of the author and the publishers imply, and we gather from various incidental remarks made throughout the book that Mr. Bjerregaard is now a citizen of the United States with full American sympathies, but that by origin he is a Finn, but of the Swedish-speaking variety, still in touch with his own weird, contemplative land and its somewhat melancholy, romantic, and fantastic literature. He tells us that it is more than thirty years since he began in this country (*i.e.*, America) to call attention to the Tao-teh-king: that would bring us back to those stirring days of derring-do in China, when Professor Herbert Giles, of iconoclastic fame, was scandalizing Drs. Legge and Chalmers by denying the very existence of Laotsz and his celebrated classic. But, Mr. Bjerregaard now tells us, "the only proper way of reading that book is in the light of mysticism" (could the author have possibly meant "mystification"?), and it is to be hoped, therefore, that Professor Giles will now see the error of his ways, for Mr. Bjerregaard has this to tell him: "A sensible study and intelligent application of the ideas and methods of Laotzse [quite a new spelling!] and Rousseau will go far to refresh individual souls and develop true self-reliance. It will create true will-power and work, and wealth both of mind and pocket. It will do away with our boastful self-complacency and the intolerable strain of trust associations, and also place these in their position as public servants rather than as tyrants." (Note this, ye pork-packers and oil-kings!) "In my opinion the new ideas for our age and the coming age—ideas we all long for in the name of religion, philosophy, and social organization—lie slumbering in the teachings and methods left us by Laotzse and Jean Jacques Rousseau." But Jean Jacques is by no means the only grist brought to Mr. Bjerregaard's small grinding mill: his position as a librarian (and, indeed, old Laotsz was one too, and excogitated similar mystic thoughts in his hours of boredom from amongst the dusty tomes of the Chou Emperors he was serving) manifestly gave him a breadth of literary rum denied to ordinary mortals; thus we have Ruskin, Henri Borel, St. Paul, St. John, Shelling, Heraclitus, Boëthius, an in-nominate Shawnee Indian poet, the Upanishads, Krause, Tennyson, Arnold, Eckhardt, Wordsworth, Marcus Aurelius, Walt Whitman, Whittier, Tyndal, Shelley, Schilling, Plato, St. Augustine, Kant, Fichte, Keats, Lessing, Dr. John Tauler (a fine old German mystic), and a hundred others all dragged in for our benefit in order to illustrate the Simple Life and the Overman. The only really great mystic persons left

out in the cold seem to be the late Mr. W. Stead and the living Mr. G. Bernard Shaw.

Mr. Bjerregaard says, "I lay no claim to be a sinologist." Still, that does not prevent him from giving us "an account of Laotzse and his book. . . . He was of a good family, possibly of royal descent, and born 604 B.C. in Ku, a hamlet in Tsu in Honan. . . . We know that he was librarian or custodian of the archives of Cho, a city in south-western China. . . . After his death the title of *Tan* was conferred upon him. *Tan* means 'master,' and is the same as the title 'Christ' given Jesus, and 'Buddha' given to Sakya-Muni." Professor Giles, the merciless destroyer of doubtful facts, may perhaps be able to tell us where the mystic gloss about "a good family" and "possible royal descent" comes from; but, as a mere dabbler in sinology, the present appreciative student of the Simple Life and its pleasures here opened out feels bound to point out that the hamlet was called *Hu*, and not *Ku*; and that it was in the petty State of Ch'én where the philosopher was born; this State of Ch'én was subsequently conquered by the half-barbarous southern "empire" of Ts'u, which was aiming at the conquest of true China. The word "Honan" did not then exist at all as a territorial name; in any case, though parts of what we now call Honan may have been in ever-changing Ts'u, Ts'u was never in Honan, and, if we are to be modern, then the hamlet of Hu (where Laotsz's temple exists to this day) is not, and never was, in the province of Honan at all, but in the province of Anhwei. About 1,700 years ago it became the township of Kuh-yang *hien*, and is now a place still "in being" in the well-known busy township of Poh *chou*, whence unmystical and commonplace donkey-skins are freely exported via Chinkiang to foreign parts. *Cho* (*i.e.*, the *Chou* dynasty) was not a city, and south-western China had not yet been discovered at all by Imperial China. The "archives of Cho" were the Imperial Chou dynasty archives of China, the Emperor's particular domain then being in the centre of known China—*i.e.*, in the above-mentioned Honan of our own days; his capital was the modern Honan *Fu*. *Tan* never did, "nor never shall," mean "master." For safety's sake we here quote Professor Giles's definition. He says it means "ears without rim or lobe," and anyway it was a posthumous sobriquet rather than a title conferred upon Laotsz on account of his "eerie" appearance in the auscultatory region; in fact, his name, even when alive, was Li Ērh, meaning "Mr. Lee of the Ears," so that he must have been a strange mortal to look at, however deep and unfathomable his thoughts may have been, and however "clinging" his soul.

Nowadays all classes, all minds, are catered for, in literature as well as in hotels and ocean steamers; as Horace tells us, "some there who like most to collect the Olympic dust on their carriage wheels" (if he had lived now he would perhaps have said "the Brooklands dust on their motor-tires"); and undoubtedly those persons who are fond of turning themselves and the mystic brains they possess inside out, and have leisure to do it, will find ample entertainment in Mr. Bjerregaard's 225 large pages of introspective but far from simple thinking. Some people will undoubtedly think the mystic author a real man of genius; other irreverent persons, on

the other hand, may call him the wee suspicion of a crank. The text for the fourth of his chapters (on Simplicity) is from someone called Athanase, though it seems more appropriate to Nebuchadnezzar:

“Our human souls
Cling to the grass and the water-brooks.”

The way in which each reader will take the sermon on this text is a fair test of each same reader's mysticism of mind. Personally the writer takes a purely material view, and replies: “Let them cling.”—E. H. PARKER.

5. VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS. By H. Davison Love. Three vols. and an index volume. (London: *John Murray.*) 36s., net cash.

Every Madrassee, past and present, should take off his hat to Colonel Love. Everyone who has lived in the “Garden City of India,” from its greatest Governor, Sir Thomas Munro, down to the youngest subaltern, knows that Madras itself is all Colonel Love’s enthusiasm describes her, the oldest, most interesting and most comfortable of all the great Indian towns. As Mr. Edward Lear, a great artist (as well as author of the “Book of Nonsense”), told the present writer, it was not till he got to Madras that he learnt what Indian scenery and architecture really meant. If the present Governor would pull down the greater part of what is now called George Town, but is better known by its old and more appropriate name of “Black” (and evil-smelling), and spread its one square mile of buildings over at least five square miles up the coast and inland, he would have done more for the improvement of the city than any of his predecessors, and might make the whole of it, what the European portion has long been, a true Garden City. But there is no time to be lost, for even Madras, though not yet so unmanageable in point of population as its sister towns of Calcutta and Bombay, is increasing at a prodigious rate, and already numbers more than half a million souls. There need be no great difficulty in clearing away old towns and building new ones nowadays. Land for the extension could probably be acquired at a very moderate cost, and the increased rental of decent houses, each with space for at least a small garden, would probably pay the interest on the money sunk. However far the city might extend up the coast is of no consequence with a good service of trams, and drainage would be simplified if sewage could be utilized in the garden.

But all this does not give much idea of Colonel Love’s book, which is only concerned with the long past story of Madras from 1640 to 1800, and is so crammed with interesting tales that it is almost impossible to make a selection. The reasons given by the “Nague” (Naik or Nayak—*i.e.*, “chief”)—of Poonamallee for making over the site of what is now Madras to the old East India Company are curiously interesting. As observed by the rulers of Masulipatam in their report to their masters in Leadenhall Street, what he offered them were, etc., “Fayre priviledges, and may be questioned why hee should make us these fayre proffers. ‘Tis answered” (they say) “by himself. First, hee desires his country may flurish and

grow rich ; which hee Conceives it will by Drawing merchants to him. Secondly, he desires for his money good horses from Persia. Thirdly, that yearly upon our shippes hee may send a servant into the Bay of Bengalla, to buy him Hawks, Apes, Parratts, and such like bables"—and so on—not "ivory, apes, and peacocks," like Solomon, but still goods of a similar description which evidently appeal to an Oriental monarch. Indeed, it is not impossible that "bables" may include peacocks at least, if not ivory. The persistent craving for apes through all the ages is still more extraordinary.

One might fill the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* with such curious extracts, but must rest content with advising our readers to dive into the book for themselves.—J. B. P.

6. INDIA AND THE INDIANS. By Edward F. Elwin. (London : John Murray) 10s. 6d.

The scope and object of the book are very adequately set out by the author in its two-page preface, the tenour of which (as it is too condensed to be summarized) may be suggested by the following quotation from it : "Every Englishman who takes a pleasure in the sense of Empire ought to realize that it brings with it great responsibilities, and therefore that every Englishman has a measure of responsibility towards India. . . . A better understanding of what India and the people who live in it are really like seems to be the necessary preparation for sympathy and work of any sort connected with that country ; and to help, in however small a degree, to bring about this end is the object of this book." The book is an essay, in what we believe to be the strict meaning of the term "essay"—that is to say, you set down all and anything that you know or that occurs to you about the subject in hand, without feeling bound to follow any system as you write, or to make your work exhaustive—a style of composition which is, we venture to think, well chosen in this instance in view of the avowed object of the book. The author is a member of the Cowley Society of St. John the Evangelist, and a missionary at Yerandawana, Poona, and he writes "essay"-wise (as defined above) of India and the Indians as he has known them throughout the 350 pages of the book. The book convinces by the unaffectedness of the writer's style, and the complete absence of any hint that he holds a brief for anyone ; he avoids laying down the law and inviting controversy. It would have been difficult, we think, to write the book in a fashion more conducive towards the object which the author had before him.—J. M. P.

7. BY-WAYS OF BOMBAY. By S. M. Edwardes, c.v.o. (Indian Civil Service), Commissioner of Police, Bombay. (Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co.)

This book originally appeared in the form of articles in the Indian Press, and these are now published by the author in book-form, of which the present volume is the second edition. Each chapter stands by itself, and forms a separate idyll or picture of an Indian scene. Among the

subjects which the author has chosen are scenes from the streets and religious festivals, places of historic interest, local legends. The book throughout is word-painting of a very high order. The writer's style pleases by its simplicity and ease, and he shows a remarkable talent for giving wealth of detail by the happy turn of a phrase, or choice of a word which gives his picture the effect of a Meissonier painting. The twenty illustrations by Mr. M. V. Durandhar harmonize well with the book, and a word of praise is due to him for being so loyally content to make his work servient to his author's.

The author's style is excellent throughout, and he has proved himself a veritable "lord of language," and knows how to make the "coin of fancy" flash so as to illustrate many a dark recess of Bombay life.—J. M. P.

8. THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1642-1645. By William Foster, C.I.E. (Oxford : Clarendon Press.)

Though somewhat less sensational, this volume is equal in historical interest to its predecessors. Affairs at home were getting more and more involved, and this bore reflex action among the English merchants in India, which culminated in Mucknell, the master of the *John*, sailing his ship home to prey upon the Commonwealth shipping in 1644, and escaping "to doe further mischief, until God's hand or the gallowes make an end of him." The chief rivals of the English company in India (besides their own "Interlopers") were now the Dutch, not the Portuguese. They had even friendly dealings with the latter, and strove by presents to Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh to obtain the same privileges as had been granted to the former. We hear a good deal of Macao in this volume, and a considerable amount about the trade in pepper from Bantam and the Indian Archipelago—not yet closed by the Dutch. The English were firmly established in Madras, and Fort St. George was "better than half finished" and a useful bulwark against Golconda. Bengal as yet held out promises only, though we are told that "Mr. John Yard hath but said the truth in all his letters concerning the fruitfulness of Bengalla," and it is in this volume that we have the story of Gabriel Boughton, who cured a *haram* inmate of Shah Shuja in Bengal, and so was able to assist his countrymen when they came to establish themselves at Hugli in 1651, shortly before his death. Many little notices of the manners, customs, and mode of life of the long-suffering factors can be deduced from these bare reports, and a curious instance of how they tried to keep the half-caste children of the mixed marriages in good repute, will be found in the story of John Leachland's daughter, who was married to William Appleton, "taylor" in Surat, as "a necessary means to preserve her honor and honesty untainted."—A. F. S.

9. ADVENTURES BEYOND THE ZAMBESI. By Mrs. Fred Maturin. (London : Eveleigh Nash.)

This book, which is well illustrated with snapshots, need not detain us long. It is foolish and rather vulgarly written. The nomenclature of the

dramatis personæ—“The O’Flaherty; the Insular Miss; the Soldier Man; and the Rebel Woman,” the last of whom is the author—tell us almost enough. Keenness for game-shooting alternates with vituperation of anti-suffragettes, and such a thing as an unvarnished account of the journey is little thought of. We therefore recommend most of the would-be readers not to attempt a worthless task.—A. F. S.

10. ANGLO-INDIAN STUDIES. By S. M. Mitra. (London: *Longmans, Green and Co.*)

Beginning with “Christian and Hindu War Ethics,” the chapters in this discursive book include one on “Indian Princes” (advocating the admission of some Indian rulers into the House of Lords), “Cochin Port for Ocean Liners,” chapters on “The Indian Press” (giving an interesting historical account), the “Hindu Drama”—with many comparisons with our sixteenth and seventeenth century dramatists—“The Moslem-Hindu *entente cordiale*,” “Hindu Medicine,” and “Indian Unrest.” It will be seen that the book cannot be reviewed in a small space from the variety of its subjects. We will only say that, if too diffuse, it is interesting in ideas, that the chapter on English and Indian statesmen—from Sir Dinkar Rao to Sir Alfred Lyall—is worth reading, and that there is an interesting note on “Hindu Mind-training,” in which the comprehension of the Oriental mind by the Irish rulers, such as the Laurences and Lord Roberts, is insisted on, with more reference, perhaps, to geography than to ethnography.—A. F. S.

11. THE JĀTAKA, OR STORIES OF THE BUDDHA’S FORMER BIRTHS. Index volume. 63 pp. (Cambridge: *University Press.*)

The *Jātaka*, or collection of tales of Buddha’s legendary former births, is admittedly one of the most prolific sources of ancient folklore in the world. The Pāli version of the collection dates to about the beginning of the Christian era; but the want of a satisfactory index has hitherto prevented the material from being utilized to any great extent. As Dr. Andersen’s index of 1897 to Fausboll’s Pāli text comprised merely the Pāli proper names, it was hoped that the index promised to Cowell’s English translation, itself completed in 1907, would adequately supply this long-felt want. For as the indexes appended to the individual volumes of that edition were remarkably meagre and perfunctory, whilst the translation itself was often lacking in scholarly precision. Thus we find that the four great elemental “Guardian Gods of the Quarters,” who have played a conspicuous part in Buddhist mythology from the earliest times and who figure extensively in the *Jātakas*, are disguised in Cowell’s translation under the terms of “angels,” “regents,” “spirits,” “genii,” “demons,” etc., indiscriminately.

The index now issued to the series, is even more disappointing. The general section extends only to 52 pages, and the Pāli words form less than 4 pages, though even in Andersen’s list they extend to 185 pages. It is noteworthy that scarcely a quarter of the references are given to the four great guardian gods, who are altogether omitted from the “Index of Pāli Words.”

An adequate and worthy index to the great body of folklore contained in the *Jātakas* still remains a pressing want to be supplied.—L. A. WADDELL.

12. THE DIAMOND SUTRA (CHIN-KANG-CHING), OR PRAJNA-PARAMITA.

Translated from the Chinese. With an introduction and notes. By William Gemmell. (London : *Kegan Paul and Co.*) Price 2s. 6d. net.

It may be noted that, throughout his work, Mr. Gemmell, (Church of Scotland Mission) accepts a sort of popular Sanskrit spelling, and thus omits the numerous qualifying marks that specialists use to distinguish long and short vowels, or liquid, dental, and other consonants: thus Eitel has *Pradžña-páramitá Sútra* for the "Sútra of [the intelligence which] arrives at the other shore," that is to say, the *Kin-kang King* or "Diamond [classic" or] *Sútra* of the into-Chinese translation. The original Sanskrit version has been translated into English before; Mr. Gemmell now translates from the Chinese version. Perhaps for the *profanum vulgus* this is just as well, as the man in the street is none the wiser and has no fancy for being bombarded with etymological hair-splitting fads. It is remarkable, if not extraordinary, that just when the Chinese themselves are abolishing things generally, and their old religions in particular, European writers should rush in and publish book after book upon Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism for our own Christian profit; it is like the "picture-dromes" and the "ragtime" exhibitions diverting idle attention from the legitimate theatre. No wonder, then, that nearly 2,000 years ago, on the official arrival of Buddhism in China, the old Taoist *impresarios* should have hastened to accommodate their ideas in like manner to the Indian philosophy, and the Buddhists in turn should have sucked the Taoist orange dry for a vocabulary when at a loss for words. Whoever the original author of the "T'other Shore" was, the translator into Chinese, we are told, was "Kumarajiva, a native of Kashmir." As a matter of fact this man's mother was a native of Kutchar, in the Tarim valley, or rather of Kashgar; but she seems to have married at Kutchar a native of India, and to have taken her son to India for education in Buddhism; at that time (about A.D. 400) the Tibetans were ruling part of north-west China as "Emperors," and Kutchar, as well as parts of China, really fell within their conquering sphere. Kumarajiva was made Grand Vizier to the Tibetan "Emperor" Yao Hing, in 405, and it was under the auspices of his majesty Yao Hing that the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Fah Hien, started out on his travels from (modern) Si-nan Fu. "The Diamond Sutra" is reputed to be the chief *exposé* of the Mayahana doctrine, which, as the following Japanese *résumé* suggests, savours considerably of Taoism: "All things that are produced by causes and conditions are inevitably destined to extinction. There is nothing that has any reality; when conditions come, things begin to appear; when conditions cease, these things likewise cease to exist"—and so on with developments of the imagination. "The Diamond Sutra" in form resembles Confucius' so-called "Analects," or conversational aphorisms delivered at the head of his pupils, in being a series of answers and questions between "the Lord Buddha" and his disciple "the venerable

Subhuti." Sir Monier Williams is quoted as saying: "If Buddha was not a materialist, in the sense of believing in the eternal existence of material atoms, neither could he in any sense be called a 'spiritualist,' or believer in the external existence of abstract spirit." However, general readers must "mug the matter up" for themselves; few people are so content with life as they find it but what they like a spell of vain phantasy at odd moments. As to missionaries, it is their duty to read Mr. Gemmell's translation.—E. H. PARKER.

13. THE GAME OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN CHINA. By Harold Frank Wallace, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. (London: John Murray.) Price 15s. net.

Leaving England in May, 1911, the travellers made their way from Liverpool by C.P.R. steamer and railway to Vancouver, Japan, and Shanghai, whence to Hankow and Ho-nan Fu, past the 2,000 year old capital of Si-angan Fu, up the valley of the River Wei to the Ta-peï Shan, or "the country of the *tahkin*," which appears to be approximately in lat. 34, long. 108, about four days' journey from the ancient metropolis aforesaid. There is no particular novelty about this steamer and railroad route, nor has the author any very striking special observations to make: the true interest of his book begins when the fearsome, "Semitic"-nosed, and antediluvian-looking ovibovine animals were sighted on August 6. Before stepping on board the Liverpool steamer, Mr. George Fenwick-Owen (to whom in a dedication the author, says he, is indebted for his experiences) had secured by telegram the services of Dr. J. A. C. Smith of Shanghai, a sportive medico, who had accompanied the Duke of Bedford's big game expedition of 1910. Considering that Dr. Smith "knew China well, and talked the language like a native" after eight years' experience as a medical missionary at Si-angan Fu, it is to be regretted that more pains were not taken to ascertain the exact Chinese names of the rare animals shot by Mr. Wallace, of which innumerable and extremely valuable pictures are given. *Tahkin* is presumably a Tibetan or Assamese word, though no sportsman seems to have taken the trouble to enlighten us definitely upon this essential point: the particular species shot by Mr. Wallace and his companions is the *Budorcas bedfordi*, the name of which explains itself; but there are also the Bhotan and Sz Ch'wan frontier varieties: the full lore is given on pages 69-72. The native hunters in the party call it *pan-yang*, or (in our author's words) "precipice oxen"—clearly a mistranslation, if not a misnomer, too, for *yang* means variously a sheep, antelope, or goat; but under no circumstances can it mean bovine animals. Certainly there is a Chinese word, *p'an*, "rock or precipice," in which case "precipice goat" would be the translation applicable to this strange ovibovine monstrosity, as, indeed, is correctly stated in the Appendix (p. 291). But there is a 2,000 year old word, *p'an-yang* (exactly the same sound and tone), meaning "coiled goat" of Sz Ch'uan, and alluding to the twisted horns of the *Argali* (a Tartar word), or *Ovis jubata*. The Shen Si hunters possibly confuse the *Tahkin* with the *Argali*, for the Kan Suh hunters correctly call the former *Ye-niu*

(wild ox). Then, again, the *Wapiti* or *Cervus kansiensis*, shot later on in the border Kan Suh dominions of the mediatised Prince Djoni, is styled by Mr. Wallace the *ma-luh* or "horse deer," a name given a generation ago to the *Cervus elaphus*, or *C. (Elaphurus) Davidianus*. Of course it is well known to all students how loose and painfully local the Chinese are apt to be in their scientific nomenclature—zoological, botanical, or otherwise; yet it is generally possible, by taking pains, to worry out the true designations, and, at least, to distinguish between the official or literary and the popular or local names. The *Capreolus bedfordi*, or roe-deer, is well known in its many varieties as the *p'ao-luh*, but *p'ao* (p. 292) has nothing whatever to do with "galloping." *Ngai-yang*, or "precipice sheep," is a correct translation for the *Burhel*, but *Sang-yu* for the *Serow* requires further consideration. The dreaded *T'e-pu* tribes mentioned by Mr. Wallace in this region (south of Djoni) have rarely, if ever, been mentioned by any other traveller, though Birch and Watt-Jones passed that way in 1900. It is interesting to learn that Phallic worship is observable in the corrupt local Buddhism: the *Drocwa* tribes of T'ao-chou Fu are also an ethnographical novelty requiring further study: the alternative name *Abrogba* suggests kinship with the Brughba or Bhotanese. On October 23, after nearly three months' sport, the party heard of the Wuch'ang revolution; a fortnight later there were rumours of a Mussulman rising, so they made tracks for the viceregal capital of Lan-chou, passing on the way Wakang, where Hazram Ali, through the Viceroy's negligence, had been murdered in 1910 (Clark and Sowerby expedition). It took them two months to reach Urumtsi, where they met the exiled "Boxer" Duke Lan: two months more brought them to Omsk; but it is sad to say the two rather sketchy maps given entirely fail us precisely where most wanted—*i.e.*, between Turfan, Tarbagatai, Sergiopol, and Omsk.

Although Mr. Wallace's account of his two months' travels to the famous hunting-ground of Shen Si and Kan Suh contains little of specific interest, it must be admitted that his four months' journey from that paradise by way of the Desert, Hami, Turfan, Urumtsi, etc., to the Russian frontier at "Bakti," and thence to Omsk, is of the highest geographical interest, besides being joyous, characteristic, rollicking, and often intensely amusing. He even rises to high literary merit in his descriptions of the howling sands, and his graphic words might have been literally copied from the 2,000 year-old word paintings of the early Chinese travellers. Sometimes he indulges even in a little sagacious philosophy. He knows how to rough it; is equally at home in a pig-stye and amid the luxuries of civilization, and can hobnob cheerfully with the dregs as well as the cream of human society: especially amusing is the story of Russian official red-tape, desperate Russian *telegra* driving, and the general obstreperous persistency of the won't-take-no-for-an-answer party of Englishmen at the gates of Russia. Withal the author is unobtrusively modest and deferential throughout; he does not profess to know anything in particular, except how to track big game, and yet he manages to observe so well and with so much common sense, that he leaves upon us a very satisfying impression that he is to be

trusted throughout. A second edition will probably soon be called for, when the following corrections may be made: Tōkyō (p. 7) has 2,000,000, not 200,000 inhabitants; *loess* or *löss* (pp. 22-24 etc.), but never *loëss*; *Yui* 600 years ago (p. 37) should be *Yin* 950 years ago; *Tsui* (p. 42) should be *Ts'in*; *yung* (p. 170) should be *yang*; jamming a nail into a vein (p. 225) is not quackery, but an approved Chinese remedy for staggers; *Kai-yü* (p. 250) should be *Kia-yü*; *sir* (p. 252) should be *gir*; *San-Kech-wan* (p. 260) is impossible, possibly *San-ho-ch'wan* is meant; *Tashkeng* (p. 269) should be *T'ash'héng* (Tarbagatai), 40 li from Pa-k'ê-tu (Bakti) the frontier post.—E. H. PARKER.

14. STUDIES FROM AN EASTERN HOME. By Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble). (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1913.)

The ever-widening sympathy that has been manifested during the last half-century between the East and West is apparent in this almost inspired work. To many, however, the sentiments of Sister Nivedita will come as a revelation. Her writing is full of poetry and fire and power. She has found the key to the inner sanctuary of Indian thoughts and character, having realized that "the whole of Hinduism is one long sanctification of the common life." "Studies from an Eastern Home" is well worth reading, it is full of great thoughts. Though other workers would gladly follow Margaret Noble's example, there are few who have the opportunity of carrying out such exalted desires.—S.

15. PLAYS OF OLD JAPAN: THE Nō. By Marie C. Stopes, D. SC., PH. D., F.L.S. (London: William Heinemann.)

This contribution on Japanese dramatic art is very acceptable. It is a careful study of a peculiar form of a semi-religious performance. The author having witnessed a modern presentation of the Lyrical Nō Drama, has set down her own impressions, together with a detailed account of its general rules. From a pictorial stand-point, the Nō appears extremely simple, but it is full of beauty; deeply appreciated by the audience, which is always a select and intellectual company. The value of Marie Stopes' work lies in her mastery of the Japanese language, for there are subtleties and allusions to phrases in the *utai* of the plays which require a thorough knowledge of the subject. We accept the translations as the united efforts of Prof. Joji Sakurai and the author. The librettos are purely Oriental in thought and theme, very true in their rendering to Eastern romance. A complete list of the Nō Plays would have added considerable value to the book. H. E. Baron Kato has contributed a short eulogistic preface.—S.

16. THE "JAPAN GAZETTE" PEERAGE OF JAPAN. (Yokohama: Printed and published by the *Japan Gazette Co.* 1913.)

The *Japan Gazette Co.*, has issued a superb volume of nearly 600 pages. on a subject that has not hitherto been accessible in a European language. The compilers have endeavoured to make this acceptable reference work

as complete as possible, though the difficulties of carrying out their ambitions have been great and many. The preliminary text will be highly useful to all who seek information concerning Japanese Court etiquette.

A full page is given to each member of the aristocracy, from the late Emperor, Meiji Tennō, to the last created baron. In these days of rapid changes it is essential to be thoroughly acquainted with much important information that is set down in each column. Reading through the long list of peers, we are reminded of the deeds of their ancestors; of manifold traditions; of their valour and loyalty; of mighty battles by sea and land; of tumults and deadly conflicts, together with the struggles of many noble families and clans for supremacy, during the wars of the Gempei, and the dark middle ages, that made the past history of Japan full of stirring deeds fought out to the bitter ends.

The "Peerage of Japan" has been made attractive on account of numerous illustrations produced in gold and rich colours representing the various Orders, Decorations and Medals, which are many in number; these are either bestowed for services rendered to Emperor or Empire; or are the exclusive prerogative of Royalty and their immediate descendants. Whenever obtainable portraits of the representative of each noble house is given, whether minor or veteran, together with the *mon* or badge which is distinctive though generally very simple in design. Every available detail is set down as accurately as circumstances will allow. The castles or residences of Prince, Noble, or Baron are unique in point of architecture; purely Oriental in design with tilted roofs and white, grim, unscaleable walls, set amid densely wooded surroundings.

A noble array of great men greet the inquirer on every page: patrons of art and learning and industry, administrators of justice, Ministers of war—both naval and military, Governors of newly acquired territories—men who, by their ceaseless exertions, are ever watchful of the march of civilization, and who are strenuously building up the bulwarks of their constitution with untiring energy; men who have, by their labours, already won laurels for the land, as well as youthful representatives who are resolute to follow in the footsteps of a renowned ancestry.

Among the portraits of peers and statesmen are recognized many who, during the last forty years, have from time to time visited our shores, on friendly or political missions, or who are easily recognized by reason of their participations in the illustrious events of the modern history of Japan.

To all who are watching the steady progress of our allies, this book should prove a valuable addition to their library. To those who, by their own deeds, are raising their Empire to such a World Power, the "Peerage of Japan" cannot fail to be acceptable, as well as to foreign Courts, Embassies, Legations, Press and Reference Libraries, who are constantly requiring authentic knowledge of this particular subject. This handsome volume is suitably produced in *modern* Japanese style and binding.—C. M. S.

17. THE RHUBAIYAT OF SOME-OF-US. By J. G. Brandon-Thomas.
Set to illustrations by George Segar. (Oxford: *Holywell Press.*)

It is, perhaps, not generally realized how excellently Fitzgerald's translation lends itself to parody. Here we have two Oxford undergraduates producing a most entertaining book, the one supplying the letterpress, in which he shows considerable ingenuity and wit; while the other has added a series of drawings, which show real talent, besides admirably illustrating the verses. The transition from the Persia of the eleventh century to the Oxford of now is as entertaining as it is daring. Though the high level is not perhaps maintained throughout, this book should prove very acceptable to those whose Varsity days are over or not yet begun.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Latin Self-Taught, by JOHN TOPHAM, Barrister-at-Law. (London: E. Marlborough and Co.)—By applying to Latin the well-known and popular *Self-Taught* method, the author has reinvested this "dead" language with life, and made it possible for any intelligent person, young or old, to gain a direct acquaintance with it of a practical and useful character.

The reformed style of pronunciation—now so largely adopted in our Universities and other educational centres—is represented phonetically in a simple and effective manner, the reader thus being enabled to speak the words as they were most probably spoken by the ancient Romans themselves. By adopting the rules of prosody as his guide, the author has provided a consistent plan of pronunciation that, if generally followed, will make the Latin tongue one which everyone can speak rationally and intelligibly.

The scheme of phonetics is clearly explained in the introductory section, and this is followed by a large number of classified vocabularies. The great majority of the words found in the first two books of both Caesar and Vergil are included, giving this part of the work additional value to the student, as well as chemical, medical, and many other words and terms required in the various professions and branches of learning. These, together with the classified phrases and a comprehensive list of Latin abbreviations, make the volume a handy, interesting, and useful book of reference for authors, journalists, public speakers, and readers in general.

There is also a practical outline of Latin Grammar, well explained, and set out in the most effective manner for catching the eye and impressing the mind of the student, and the principles of the art of construing are given, illustrated by the *Pater noster* and a passage from Vergil. The work is thus a valuable text-book for everyone who would like to obtain a knowledge of this ancient tongue that has such inestimable modern utility.

Human Affection and Divine Love, by SWAMI ABHEDÂNANDA. (New York: The Vedanta Society).—This is a dainty little book, full of gentle musings of the Asiatic, whose survey of life and love and death breathes of

contentment, and acceptance of the inevitable. This form of Indian philosophy is eminently suited to the people who govern their lives and actions by the aid of its teaching. The two themes are dealt with separately, and the diverse influence of human affection and Divine love are therefore carefully contrasted.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications : *The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Current Opinion*, formerly *Current Literature* (The Current Literature Publishing Company, New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Hindustan Review*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1913 (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, June, July, and August, 1913 (published by the Society at Hastings Street, Calcutta);—*The Wealth of India*, a monthly magazine of information and instruction on agriculture, trade, industry, economics, etc., edited by G. A. Vaidyaraman, B.A. (Madras : G. A. Vaidyaraman and Co.);—*The Quest*, a quarterly review, edited by G. R. S. Mead (London : John M. Watkins, 21, Cecil Court, Charing Cross Road);—*Resolution reviewing the Reports on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the Year 1911-1912* (Bombay : Government Central Press, 1913);—*Catalogue of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency during Quarter ending December 31, 1912* (Agents for Europe : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., London);—*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1912-1913* (Peshawar : Commercial Press, 1913);—*Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay, 1912*, Vol. I., published by the authority of H.E. the Governor (Bombay : Government Central Press, 1913); *Vibrakarmā : Examples of Indian Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Handicraft*, chosen by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. First Series : One Hundred Examples of Indian Sculpture (London : Luzac and Co.).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *Essays, Indian and Islamic*, by S. Khuda Buksh, M.A. (Probstain and Co.); *Art in Egypt*, by G. Maspero (William Heinemann);—*The System of the Vedanta*, by Paul Deussen, translated by Charles Johnston (Chicago : Open Court Publishing Company);—*The Little World of an Indian District Officer*, by R. Carstairs (Macmillan and Co.);—*The Bases of Theosophy : A Study in Fundamentals, Philosophical, Psychological, Practical*, by James H. Cousins;—*An Introduction to Yoga*, by Annie Besant;—*Some Occult Experiences*, by Johan Van Manen;—*Theosophy and the Theosophical Society*, by Annie Besant (London : Theo-

sophical Publishing House);—*The Fringe of the East: A Journey through Past and Present Provinces of Turkey*, by H. C. Lukach;—*A History of the Zulu Rebellion, 1906, and of Dinazulu's Arrest, Trial, and Expatriation*, by J. Stuart (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*Christianity: The Sources of its Teaching and Symbolism*, by J. B. Hannay, F.R.G.S., F.I.C., F.C.S. (London: Francis Griffiths);—*The Principle of Hebrew Grammar*, with Examples and Exercises for the Use of Students, by the Rev. Tyssil Evans, M.A., B.Sc.;—*Hymns to the Goddess*, translated from the Sanskrit by Arthur and Ellen Avalon;—*Tantra of the Great Liberation*, a translation from the Sanskrit, with Introduction and Commentaries by Arthur Avalon (London: Luzac and Co.);—*Bradshaw's Through-Routes to the Chief Cities of the World*, edited by E. A. Reynolds-Ball, F.R.G.S. (London: Henry Blacklock and Co., Ltd.);—*Languages des Peuples non Chinois de la Chine*, par le Commandant D'Ollone, Le Capitaine de Fleurelle, Le Capitaine Lepage, Le Lieutenant de Boyve;—*Écritures des Peuples non Chinois de la Chine*, Quatre Dictionnaires Lolo et Miao Tseu. Dresses par le Commandant D'Ollone, avec le Concours de Monseigneur de Guébriant. Evêque du Kien Tch'ang Ouvrage, Contenant Planches, 103 Tableux et une Carte Hors Texte (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeurs);—*Kēng Tschi T'u Atkerban und Seidengewinnung in China*. Ein Kaiserliches Lehr- und Mahn-Buch aus dem Chinesischen Übersetzt und mit Erklärungen Versehen von O. Franke (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen and Co.);—*Syrian Anatomy, Pathology, and Therapeutics; or, "The Book of Medicines."* The Syriac Text, edited from a rare MS., with an English translation, etc., by E. A. Wallace Budge, M.A., LITT.D., in two volumes;—*The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, with Introduction and Notes, edited by F. E. Pargiter, M.A. (Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto, Melbourne, and Bombay);—*The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, third edition, by J. G. Fraser, Part VI., The Scapegoat (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*Gems of Japanese Art and Handicraft*, by George A. Audsley, LL.D. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd.);—*The Coronation Durbar and Its Consequences*, by Sir C. Ilbert (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press);—*The Broken Halo*, by Florence L. Barclay (London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons);—*Cecil Rhodes: The Man and His Work*, by Gordon le Sueur, F.R.G.S. (London: John Murray);—*The Mounted Police of Natal*, by H. P. Holt (London: John Murray);—*With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, by Stephen Graham (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, by Captain C. G. Rawlings (London: Seeley Service and Co., Ltd.);—*Dew and Mildew*, by Christopher Wren (London: Longmans, Green and Co.).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Lord Hardinge, in adjourning the Legislative Council on September 17, made an important speech in which he alluded to the conflict in the Balkans, and said that Great Britain had for many years done her utmost to assist Turkey with disinterested counsel and strong moral support, fully recognizing the importance of the existence of Turkey as an independent Power, and, in view of the religious interests of Muhammadans in India, the necessity for maintaining the *status quo* as regards the holy places in Arabia, and was still anxious to help the Turkish Government to introduce reforms and to consolidate her position.

He referred to Persia and said that the British Government was desirous of seeing a strong government in Southern Persia, where India had so many commercial interests.

In alluding to the position of Indians in the self-governing Colonies of the British Empire he said that, while the Colonial Governments were sensitive, the Indian Government fully recognized their responsibilities and spared no efforts to protect the interests of fellow-Indian subjects, and would continue to urge their view until redress was obtained. The question of South African immigration* was still under discussion and he hoped some defects of the Bill recently passed by the Union Parliament would be remedied.

* See article by "Anglo-Indian" elsewhere in this *Review*.

The Viceroy, in alluding to the question of education, said the Government would leave no stone unturned to realize the hopes contained in His Majesty's recent inspiring messages.

His Highness the Aga Khan presided at the fifth annual general meeting of the London All-India Moslem League, held in London. In his speech he warned the Indian Muhammadans and appealed to them to use whatever influence they exercise in the world of Islam for the promotion of confidence in the policy followed by the British Government since the outbreak of war in the Near East. This advice was very opportune at a time when a renewal of the conflict between the Turks and their assailants appeared to be almost inevitable.

The Indian Moslem will be even less inclined than he was some time ago to accept the Aga Khan's prediction that Turkey henceforth must be an Asiatic Power and nothing more, but it will be little to the advantage of the Turks if their fellow-Moslems in India reiterate the cry raised at Lucknow, when the League met there in March, that Great Britain, in leaving Turkey to its fate, was committing a grave political blunder which it was the duty of all good Moslems to denounce. The Aga Khan's claim to speak as a leader of Islam is well known, and it is a matter of satisfaction that he is striving his utmost to check the movement of fanatical enthusiasm which, while of no service to the Turkish cause, might produce infinite mischief in India.

The Public Services Commission has finished its tour throughout India and returned home, where it is taking further evidence. The impression it has left behind is that it was concerned, not with ways and means of strengthening the Civil Service, and rendering it more fit for the additional labours which are always falling to its lot, but with the demand for a large increase of the Indian element in the higher branches of the Administration. The welfare of the Indian Civil Service, and the present and future prospects of the individual members thereof, received only a passing

glance. The result of the Commission's labours is eagerly watched for.

The Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency has issued a short formal interim report, which presents the mass of evidence given by twenty-two witnesses during its sittings, the last of which was held on August 6. Accompanying the minutes of evidence are two volumes of memoranda, statistics, and correspondence, submitted to the Commission.

Lady Hardinge has received the sum of Rs. 10,63,000 towards the proposed Women's Medical College and Hospital at Delhi. The Ruling Princes of Jaipur, Haidarabad, Kotah, Baroda, the Maharaja of Hutwa, and the Jodhpur Durbar being the principal subscribers.

H.H. the Maharaja Scindia has made a donation of Rs. 25,000 for the Yunani-Vedic Medical College, Delhi.

Mr. E. S. Montagu presented the Annual Indian Budget to the House of Commons on August 7, which showed a surplus of £8,000,000. This is to be devoted to education and sanitation.

Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I., has resigned his duties as a Member of the Council of India on account of ill-health.

FRONTIER.—In the early part of July the old standing quarrel between the Nawab of Dir and his brother, Mian Gul Jan, again broke out. The latter succeeded in capturing the town of Dir and the fort, forcing the Nawab to seek refuge in Chitral territory, but in September the Nawab recaptured his capital. Further fighting appears unlikely.

Recent orders by the Tibetan Government forbidding the importation of tobacco by Tibetans having proved ineffectual in stopping the trade, the Tibetan Government are threatening heavy punishment to any Tibetan found buying tobacco from Indian or Nepauli traders.

PERSIA.—Ained-Dowleh, the Persian Minister of the Interior, resigned on August 16. Unless he can be induced to rejoin the Cabinet, the fall of the Ministry is feared.

Negotiations have been concluded between French and German Banks interested in the Baghdad Railway, by which liberty of action is left to Germany with regard to the railway, in return for a free hand for French interests in Syria and elsewhere, subject to the agreement of Russia and Great Britain.

An agreement has been finally concluded on the question of the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier, and a Commission has been appointed composed of delegates of Turkey, Persia, Great Britain and Russia for the purpose of demarcating the boundary.

Mr. C. Alban Young, M.V.O., Councillor at His Majesty's Legation at Teheran, has been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republics of Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador.

PERSIAN GULF: OMAN.—The Sheikh Abdulla has begun a religious war against the Sultan of Oman. It was reported in July that several places in the interior were captured by the Sheikh, and Muscat itself was in danger. Two British cruisers are off the port, and a detachment of the 2nd Rajputs has been despatched from Bushire to protect British interests in case of emergency, as hostilities are feared.

CEYLON.—Sir Robert Chalmers, K.C.B., HON. LL.D., Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Ceylon in succession to Colonel Sir Henry McCallum, who has retired from the public service.

SIAM.—The Siamese Government are to spend one and a quarter millions sterling on their irrigation project.

JAPAN.—Extensive ruin has been caused by a typhoon at Tokyo. Many persons were killed, and bridges and houses were destroyed. Railways were damaged, and crops also suffered.

CHINA.—A state of unrest prevails in China. In spite of the measures taken by Yuan Shih-kai to deal with the refractory military governors, a political crisis has again resumed.

Great Britain has refused a proposal by the Chinese Government that the accumulation of opium should be reshipped to India or to non-Chinese ports in the Far East. General Chang has advised Yuan Shih-kai to transfer the negotiations to London.

SOUTH AFRICA.—General Botha has reconstructed his Cabinet. Mr. Van Heerden and Mr. de Wet become Ministers.

A Commission to consider the question of the purchase or lease of land by natives has been appointed, and consists of the following members : Sir William Beaumont, chairman ; General Schalk Burger, Mr. Cornelius H. Wessels, Mr. H. R. Collins, and Colonel Stanford. The Commission will also give its opinion as to the areas within which only natives or Europeans should hold land, and will make recommendations with reference to the acquisition of further land for occupation by natives.

RHODESIA.—The Minister for the Colonies signed an agreement at Lisbon on August 27 between the Portuguese Government and the British South Africa Company, as representing the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau, to permit and regulate the recruiting of native labourers in the Tete district of Portuguese East Africa. The effect of the agreement will be to put a stop to furtive emigration.

NIGERIA.—Sir Frederick Lugard has completed his scheme of Nigerian Amalgamation, which has received the Imperial Assent and will take effect from January 1, 1914.

A scheme of railway development has been promulgated with the sanction of the Imperial Government. The terminal point of the new line, which will be 400 miles in length, has been fixed at the head of the Bonny estuary and will be called Port Harcourt. From here the line will run through the Central Province to the coalfields near Udi. Thence to Abinsi, and Jemaa, joining the existing line at a point where it crosses the Kaduma River. The scheme will take three years to complete.

GIBRALTAR.—Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Miles has been appointed Governor. He arrived in Gibraltar on August 19, and received an enthusiastic reception.

AUSTRALIA: COMMONWEALTH.—A number of British Members of Parliament are visiting Australia. They arrived at Sydney on September 2, and were enthusiastically received.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The new Cabinet formed by Mr. Holman, Premier, Colonial Secretary, and Attorney-General is as follows: Mr. McGowan, Labour and Industry; Mr. Flowers, Vice-President of the Executive Council and Acting Colonial Secretary; Mr. Griffiths, Works; Mr. Cann, Colonial Treasurer; Mr. Trefle, Lands and Agriculture; Mr. Hall, Justice and Solicitor-General; Mr. Carmichael, Education; and Mr. Eden, Mines.

CANADA.—The Duke of Connaught has accepted an extension of one year in his term of office as Governor-General of Canada.

OBITUARY.

THE LATE ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY.

IT is with the deepest regret that we have to record the death of the distinguished Orientalist Arminius Vambéry. His eventful career, beginning from the humblest circumstances, his wonderful achievements, his great services to this country in particular, are well known to all the readers of this *Review*. But we have not only had the pleasure of calling attention from time to time to his notable actions: we have also had the especial privilege of his very close personal sympathy for the aims and objects we have at heart. At a very early period in his career, he made the acquaintance of Dr. G. W. Leitner, who was one of the founders of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and assisted him with much valuable advice in its early stages, as well as by articles from his own pen. His last article, which is believed to be the last that was written by him in the English language, is published in the present number. In our July number he exonerated this country from the charges of want of good faith, brought against her in certain quarters, towards Turkey. This received wide recognition. Thus it is our sad duty not only to reflect the general sorrow felt all over England, but also to record the loss of one of the *Review's* greatest friends.

"As long as Abdul Hamid was the undisputed arbitrator of the destinies of Turkey, there was no possibility of the formation of a Balkan League, and the attack of the four Kings was fully excluded."—*A.Q.R., July, 1913.*

Yours faithfully
A. Vambery

Colonel R. H. Willoughby Plunkett, R.A. (Afghan war 1879-80);—Sir Campbell Munro, Bart.;—Major-General Edward Henry Courtney, Governor of the Military Knights of Windsor (China war 1858-60);—Lieutenant-Colonel E. V. P. Monteith (late 5th Lancers and 6th Bombay Cavalry);—Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Horace Parr Yeld, late I.M.S. (Afghan war);—Major F. H. McMeekan, R.A. (Miranzai expedition 1891, South Africa 1899-1900);—A. W. Varley, I.C.S., Judge of Larkana;—Major-General David Robertson, late Indian Army (Bhutan expedition 1865-66, Looshai expedition 1871-72, Naga Hills 1879-80);—Viscount Charlemont (China 1851-53);—Major Meiklejohn, v.c. (South Africa, Chitral Relief Force 1895, Tirah 1897);—Arthur William Crawley-Boevey, I.C.S.;—Sir Henry Waterfield, C.B., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.;—Count Hayashi, Ambassador to the Court of St. James from 1900-06;—Major-General Robert C. Stewart (Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel R. B. R. Williamson (Burma 1873);—Major C. M. F. Watkins (Assistant Engineer in the North-Western Frontier of India expedition 1897);—Major Alexander W. Hewetson, R.A., commanding 66th Battery R.F.A., Dinapore);—Major-General Arthur K. Rideout (Crimea, Oude campaign 1858);—Major-General Sir Arthur F. Warren (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Ashantee war 1874);—Colonel P. Ashworth, Government Inspector of Railways, Coonoor, India;—Colonel S. B. Hunt, I.M.S.;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. Rowlandson (Zhob Field Force 1890, China 1900, Tibet 1903-04);—Major Alan H. W. Lowndes (Burmese expedition 1886-88, North-West Frontier 1897-98, South Africa);—Captain B. E. A. Pritchard, (during exploration on the Burma frontier);—Dr. John Watson McCrindle, Indian Education Service (retired);—Khan Bahadur Shahzada Sultan Ibrahim;—General Sir Harry N. D. Prendergast, G.C.B., v.c. (Persian expedition 1857, Abyssinian campaign, Military Secretary to the Duke of Buckingham, then Governor of Madras, in command of the British expedition to overthrow King Thebaw 1885);—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Arthur Lascelles, M.V.O. (Indian Mutiny, Ashantee war 1874);—Admiral Henry Rushworth Wratislaw, C.B. (Indian Mutiny);—Professor George F. Nicholl, celebrated scholar and teacher of the Indian languages);—Rajarshi Raja Udai Pertah Singh, C.S.I.;—Major-General William H. R. Godfrey, formerly of the Indian Army;—Major-General Sir John George Dartnell (Central India 1857, Bhutan 1865, Zulu war 1879, South Africa 1899-1901);—Lieutenant-Colonel James Walker Ormiston, R.A. (Burma 1885-89);—General Sir Martin Andrew Dillon (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel Edward Robert Conolly, late Indian Staff Corps (North-West Frontier 1863-64, Jowaki expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1878-80);—Colonel J. R. Magrath (Indian Mutiny, the first Burmese war);—Colonel the Hon. Henry P. Gore-Langton, formerly an officer of the 72nd Regiment, and Aide-de-Camp to the Governor of Madras (Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Surgeon-Colonel John Richardson, I.M.S. (retired) (Bhutan expedition 1864-66);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. Bruce Sangster (Burmese expedition 1887);—Lieutenant-Colonel John S. Napier (North-West Frontier of India 1897-98);—Brigade-Major Benjamin Ward (Indian Mutiny);—Captain William R. Williams (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Taiping

Rebellion in China);—Sir Edmund McGildowny Hope Fulton, C.S.I., formerly of the I.C.S.;—Major George Buchanan, R.A.M.C.;—Baron Lawrence;—His Highness Maharaja Raj Rajendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, of Cooch Behar;—Major-General J. W. Henderson-Cleland, I.S.C. (retired);—Major-General Sir John Ramsay Slade, K.C.B. (Afghan war 1878, Barwana 1879, Candahar, Transvaal 1881, Abyssinia 1896);—Major-General Sir A. J. F. Reid (Afghan war 1878-80, Hazara expedition 1888, Chitral expedition 1895);—North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98, China expedition 1900-01);—Colonel M. T. Sale (Bhutan expedition 1864-65, West Coast of Africa 1874-75);—Colonel Charles Warren (Burmese expedition 1888-89);—Colonel W. R. Morland-Holroyd, formerly of the Indian Army;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. H. Gough, formerly of the Indian Army Remount Department;—Colonel M. D. V. T. Grant, formerly of the Bombay Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny, Afghan war 1880);—Captain William G. K. Gough (North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98, Tirah, Bazar Valley 1897, China 1900);—Lieutenant-General Frederick G. Wilkinson, C.B. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Major-General John Perkins (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel Henry Honeywood H. Hallett (Indian Mutiny);—Captain J. L. Costello (Relief of Peking 1900);—Captain H. A. Wilson, of the Indian Army;—Bernard George Geidt, late Judge of the High Court of Calcutta.

September 23, 1913.





N. 5 ✓

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.